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NOTES AND NEWS

"THIS very barbarous and uncommon impression." So wrote T. F. Dibdin of this, the only known copy of the first printed Greek text, the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*. The text, with an interlinear Latin prosetranslation, is printed on the recto of each leaf whilst the metrical Latin version of C. Marsuppini is on the verso which faces it. The Greek type is a copy of that of Jenson cut in 1471. The book does not contain any note of place or date of publication, but has been assigned on typographical grounds by Robert Proctor to the Brescia press of Thomas Ferrandus about the year 1474.

In the March number of the BULLETIN attention was drawn to the extensive collection of letters and papers of John Ruskin and his circle which the Library has acquired during recent years. Since that account appeared, a further seven hundred items have been added. Two hundred and five are letters of Ruskin himself (one hundred and seventy-eight original and twenty-seven in typescript) and the remainder consists of correspondence and allied papers relating to him and his circle, mainly during the last twenty-five years of his life.

Of Ruskin's own letters, thirty-one are addressed to his friend William Henry Harrison; they are mostly undated, but the ones bearing dates cover the years 1845 to 1861. Harrison, who published some of Ruskin's earlier efforts, acted as his

literary adviser and for thirty years was responsible for the final revisions and corrections in his works. These services are mentioned in the present letters which also deal, among other things, with criticisms of Ruskin's work, his activities in Switzerland and Italy and his relations with his father. Another, more prosaic, aspect of his life, so far unrepresented in the Rylands collection, is the subject of a second group of letters, eighty-five in number, written to his cousin George Richardson between 1861 and 1876. These are mainly concerned with the management of his financial affairs, including his personal needs and his purchases of books and pictures, although they also throw light on the progress of his literary and artistic work and on his publications. In 1869, discovering that his former agent, "my father's chosen man of business", had been cheating him, Ruskin appointed Richardson to the sole management of his financial affairs. Several letters deal with this matter and with the readjustments that had to be made to enable Ruskin to continue his interests and "keep my mother comfortable and free from care while I am organizing this change of life". "Though", he writes in June 1869, "I knew my father was not always a good judge of men in matters of intellect (and always thought those wisest who held his own opinions—on whatever weak grounds), I believed him to be an infallible judge of honesty and respectability." The whole series, which is of an intimate and confidential nature, is of considerable value. Of the remaining letters in Ruskin's hand, forty-two were written to the bookseller and publisher F. S. Ellis and his partner David White in the late 1870s and early 1880s and twenty to his cousin Joanna Severn and her husband, who attended him during his periods of mental collapse and at his death. Apart from the holographs, the collection includes twenty-seven letters in typescript, an interesting series written by Ruskin between 1855 and 1862 to Miss Anna Blunden, who sought his help and advice both with her painting—she exhibited at the Royal Academy—and with various personal problems; the location of the originals, if they have survived, does not seem to be known.

The Severns also figure prominently in the ancillary correspondence and papers, which number some five hundred items

and include letters both from them and to them concerning Ruskin. Perhaps the most noteworthy single group is a series written by Joanna Severn to Sir John Simon and his wife detailing Ruskin's condition and conversations during his breakdown in the 1870s. Simon, an eminent pathologist, was well known to Ruskin, who addressed him as "dear Brother John", and Lady Simon has been described as "the most deeply trusted friend" of Mrs. Ruskin's old age. Ruskin père is represented by six letters, of which one is to his son (March 1852)—accompanying these are silhouettes, apparently of Mr. and Mrs. Ruskin—and there are twenty-one letters of Maria La Touche, mother of Rose La Touche. Among other correspondents may be mentioned Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Mrs. Cowper-Temple (later Lady Mount Temple), Jean Ingelow, Coventry Patmore and the novelist Geraldine Jewsbury, who writes to report the death of her close friend Jane Carlyle. This portion of the collection also includes a lengthy autograph manuscript memoir of Ruskin by Arthur Severn, publisher's agreements and accounts concerning the various editions of Ruskin's works, records of properties he owned, and miscellaneous correspondence addressed both to him and to the Severns.

One small group, although numbering only ten items, has an interest of its own. It consists of letters written to Ruskin in 1864 by Archibald Constable, grandson of Sir Walter Scott's publisher, asking for his frank opinion about the business and literary relations between his grandfather and Sir Walter "for strictly private and family use". To enable Ruskin to reach a decision Constable encloses copies of letters exchanged by Maria Edgeworth and Sir James Gibson-Craig dealing with Scott's pecuniary difficulties, which had been kept secret "out of deference to the feelings of people then alive and [which] have always been regarded as confidential". With these is a small manuscript volume of anecdotes entitled "Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. derived from personal intercourse with him during a period extending from Nov. 1816 down to October 1831 and not previously published". They are by the architect Edward Blore, who built Abbotsford.

In May we received from the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres a further addition to the family muniments which he has deposited in the Library. Comprising THE CRAWFORD MUNIMENTS mainly eighteenth- and nineteenth-century correspondence and papers, it numbers many tens of thousands of items and forms the largest single accession made to this collection. So far only a general survey has been possible. Included are family, official, business and military letters and papers; private diaries, memoirs and journals; domestic, estate and business accounts; and genealogical records. The major groupings concern John, 20th Earl of Crawford (d. 1749), Alexander, 6th Earl of Balcarres (d. 1825) and his sister Lady Anne Barnard (d. 1825) and brother the Hon. Robert Lindsay (d. 1836), Lady Mary Lindsay Crawford (d. 1833), and James, 24th Earl of Crawford (d. 1869) and his son Alexander, the 25th Earl. Among the most interesting collections are those of the 6th Earl of Balcarres, who was Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica from 1794 to 1801. He is represented by four large boxes of Jamaican letters and papers, many relating to the Maroon War in the 1790s, to the plantations, and to trading conditions on the island. It is hoped to give further details as examination of the collection proceeds.

Recently the Library has purchased a number of fifteenth-century books which provide examples of presses and types not hitherto recorded here. The earliest in date is a copy of Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae super Joannem*, printed by Johann Koelhoff the elder at Cologne in 1486. We have a number of examples of his work but none, until now, with type 175^bG, which superseded his type 175^aG, cut in imitation of the type of Wendelin of Speier. PRINTED BOOKS: ACCESSIONS BY PURCHASE

The *Alphabetum divini amoris* is a devotional work which enjoyed considerable popularity in the fifteenth century. Its authorship is uncertain and, like the *Imitatio Christi*, it was variously ascribed to Thomas à Kempis and to Jean Charlier de Gerson. Of the thirteen editions recorded by the *Gesamtkatalog* we previously possessed only the first, printed by Ulrich Zell in

Cologne in 1466 or 1467. To this is now added the edition printed by Albrecht Kunne at Memmingen in 1489.

Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, printed at Venice and bearing the date 13 August 1489, provides the Library with the first product of the partnership of Bernardinus de Choris and Simon de Luere. De Choris began printing alone at Venice early in 1488; in the production of the present work he was joined by Simon de Luere, and they continued together until 1492 when de Choris seems to have been working alone again.

From the Basel press of Johann of Amerbach come three popular religious works, bound, as is frequently the case, in one volume. They are: Gerardus Zutphaniensis, *De reformatione virium animae*; a supposed work of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber meditationum*; and Johannes de Tambaco, *Consolatorium theologicum*. All were printed in 1492. Of the second the printer presented twelve copies to the Carthusian monastery in Basel.

A Parisian press hitherto unrecorded in the Library is that of Georg Mittelhus, a native of Strassburg. We have now acquired a copy of the *Liber meditationum*, reprinted by him in 1493 from the Basel edition mentioned in the preceding paragraph. This volume is characteristic of his publications, which were usually small thin quartos or octavos; the present work consists of thirty-two leaves. The 107GR heading type is a revival of the earliest state of a type of the same style and measurement used at the Soufflet Vert press. Bound with it is a copy of the same author's *Ad sororem modus bene vivendi* printed at Paris in 1502 by Denis Roce.

The latest in date of the recently acquired incunabula is Gaguin, *Compendium super Francorum gestis*, printed by Thielman Kerver in Paris, with the date 13 January 1500. It is a copy of the fourth edition of this popular work, a revised edition in which the history of France is continued to the later months of 1499. Certain copies, of which ours is one, have also an additional penultimate paragraph giving an account of the punishment of those who were held responsible for the collapse of the Pont-Neuf in October 1499. On the title-page is a large woodcut, repeated at the end of the work facing the colophon and the

device of Kerver. It depicts St. Denis and St. Remy standing on either side of a column bearing a crowned shield with three fleurs-de-lis; down each side is a series of coats of arms of French cities and French provinces. The later work of this printer was previously represented in the Library only by two short tracts.

Among STC and Wing items are: Robert Bolton, *Two Sermons Preached At Northampton*, 1635 (STC 3256), Andrew Logie, *Cum Bono Deo*, printed at Aberdeen in 1624 (STC 16694), and Edward Pelling, *The Apostate Protestant*, 1682 (Wing/P1075). The author of this last work was a stout defender of Anglicanism against dissenters and Roman Catholics alike. *The Visitor*, by William Dodd, published in London, 1764, is by the celebrated forger, who was executed on the 17th of January 1776 for offering a bond for £4,200 in the name of Lord Chesterfield.

An important palaeographical work has also been recently acquired. It is *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona* by Commendatore Tammaro de Marinis, published in Milan between 1947 and 1957 in four folio volumes. Volume one, published in 1952, contains a history of the creation of the library under Alphonso the Magnanimous, its growth and eventual dispersal. There are also detailed accounts of the librarians, the miniaturists and the copyists. The catalogue of this once great library occupies the second volume, whilst the last two volumes are entirely reserved for the magnificent facsimiles. These four volumes constitute a monument to modern Italian scholarship and typography.

Included in the list of recent donors to the Library are the names of Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Kirk, late of Romiley, who have added forty-one volumes of modern works, mainly archaeological, to a large gift made some years ago, and of Mr. Richard Hawkin of York, whose recent additions to his many gifts in the past include Baines, *The Flora of Yorkshire*, 1840-1. In a small collection (29 volumes) mainly of historical interest, presented by the Rev. W. H. Thomson, an authority on the life of John Byrom, author of *Christians awake*, is an item of strong local interest—Byrom's

PRINTED
BOOKS:
ACCESSIONS
BY GIFT

The universal English shorthand, published in Manchester in 1767. Another volume with a Manchester association forms part of the gift of Mrs. L. E. Shaw. It is a copy of *Mount Pisgah, or a sight of Heaven*, 1670 (Wing/C837) by Thomas Case, whose many works are already well represented in the Library. Case, a divine, lived for a number of years in Manchester, to which he came with his friend Richard Heyrick, warden of the Collegiate Church from 1635; he married a daughter of Oswald Mosley of Ardwick, and in 1645 became Rector of Stockport.

A magnificent folio edition, set in Goudy's "Newstyle" type, of *Novum psalterium Pii XII*, Los Angeles, 1955, has been presented by the Estelle E. Doheny Library, Camarillo, California. In 1951 Brother Antoninus, a Dominican Lay Brother, set up a press at the College of St. Albert the Great in Oakland, California. He calculated that it would take him six years to print forty-eight copies of the 300 page Leonine psalter, which would therefore be ready for issue on the fifth centenary of the appearance of the Fust and Schoeffer *Psalter* in August 1457. After completing only seventy-two pages he had reluctantly to close the press because of his studies for the priesthood. He invited Mr. Muir Dawson to publish the leaves which had been produced but subsequently Countess Doheny asked that she might sponsor the publication and distribute the copies among important institutions.

In the introduction to the work Brother Antoninus describes the difficulties he experienced in producing this edition. At first he worked with a two sheet, eight-page signature, but the aesthetic disadvantages of this led him to change to a three sheet, twelve-page signature, and as a result the second signature, pages 9-16, was never printed. Since this Library possesses the only complete copy of the 143-leaf issue of the Fust and Schoeffer 1457 *Psalter*, this is a most welcome gift.

The Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore has presented a copy of *The History of Bookbinding, 525-1950 A.D.*, Baltimore, 1957. In it an account is given of the exhibition of bookbindings held at the Baltimore Museum of Art from November 1957 to January 1958. The exhibits, comprising some 718 bindings, were drawn

from nearly fifty different sources and ranged from a group of sixth-century Coptic bindings to industrial bindings with designs by Matisse, Manet and Toulouse-Lautrec.

They include an example of that rarity a signed "Lewis" fore-edge painting, loaned by the New York Public Library from its Spencer Collection. In the Rylands there are two signed fore-edge paintings, occurring on *The Holy Bible*, Cambridge, 1638. In the first volume the inscription is on two ribbons, on the left "Lewis fecit" and on the right "Ano Dom 1658". The second volume has the legend "Lewis fecit, 1658".

It has long been felt that the Library's extensive collection of French Revolutionary materials should be made more widely known. We are indebted to Professor A. Goodwin, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester, who has been working on this collection, for undertaking an assessment of them and for his valuable appraisal, which follows:

THE
LIBRARY'S
FRENCH
REVOLU-
TIONARY
COLLECTIONS

"Several references have already been made in previous issues of the BULLETIN to the remarkable collection of contemporary printed sources bearing on the history of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic period which the John Rylands Library either possesses or has on deposit from the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.¹ The collection is internationally famous and French historians and librarians in particular have often expressed regret that no printed catalogue or inventory of it is available. The very richness of this treasure-house of revolutionary history, however, militates against the making of such a survey, which would need to be a collective enterprise and would, inevitably, prove very expensive to produce. In default of such a catalogue, it may perhaps be of interest both to British and other students of this period of French history to recall a few of the individual items in the collection which may afford an approximate, if inadequate, idea of its quality and range.

"No one would pretend that the Library has many manuscripts directly concerned with the history of the French revolution. It

¹ "The Bibliotheca Lindesiana", Vol. 30 (1946-7), pp. 193 ff. See also Vol. 35 (1952-3), p. 88.

has, in fact, surprisingly few and hardly any are of major importance. The most interesting, with the exception of the *Gazette Manuscrite* of René le Prêtre de Châteaugiron (French MS. 50), has already been utilized in a recent valuable study by Mr. R. B. Rose.¹ Nor are historians, unless they have a passion for bibliography, or are students of the art and method of revolutionary or Napoleonic propaganda, likely to take more than a passing interest in the unique collection of approximately 10,000 printed proclamations and placards generously given to the library by the father of the present Lord Crawford.² Most of these reproduce revolutionary decrees or acts of the executive government which are more easily accessible in the *procès-verbaux* of the various revolutionary assemblies, or in Buchez and Roux's *Histoire Parlementaire*. The proclamations themselves, handsomely mounted, are collector's pieces, but can hardly be expected to hold the attention of the general historian.

"The chief importance of this collection lies, undoubtedly, in its extensive, varied and often rare series of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary pamphlets and newspapers. So far as British libraries are concerned, it would probably be true to say that these holdings are, in general, second only in significance to, and in some instances take precedence of, the Croker collection in the British Museum.³

"The pamphlets, tracts and broadsides fall into three main groups—the Rowan and Adolphus tracts, consisting of twenty-four and twenty-seven volumes respectively, and a miscellaneous and unclassified series of pamphlets—15,000 of which were deposited in the library by Lord Crawford in 1946. Both the Rowan and Adolphus

¹ "The Revolutionary Committees of the Paris Sections in 1793: A Manuscript [French 110] in the John Rylands Library", *Ibid.* pp. 88-110. For these manuscripts see M. Tyson, *Hand-List of the Collections of French and Italian Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, 1930.

² Some of these proclamations relate to the period 1815 to 1871.

³ See G. K. Fortescue, *List of the three collections of books, pamphlets and journals in the British Museum relating to the French Revolution*. London, 1899. F. Braesch, *Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique sur les documents relatifs à la Révolution française à Paris conservés au British Museum de Londres*. Paris, 1907.

Collections should have some interest for students of the historiography of the revolution. The Rowan tracts derive their title from their original collector, the eccentric and wealthy Archibald Hamilton Rowan (1751-1834), friend and associate of Wolfe Tone and secretary of the Dublin committee of the Society of United Irishmen.¹ After trial in January 1794, on a charge of sedition dating back to December 1792, Rowan escaped to France and resided there for more than a year, forming an intimate acquaintance with Mary Wollstonecraft. It was probably at this period that he acquired the extremely interesting collection which has come to rest in the Library. Volume X of this series contains numerous pamphlets dealing with ecclesiastical controversies, volumes XIV and XIX include rare pieces throwing light on the development of federalism in 1792-3, volume XII is full of anti-Robespierre propaganda, while volumes XVII to XXIII contain a remarkably complete range of official documents, reports and controversial pamphlets covering the period of the Thermidorian reaction. Some of the earlier volumes contain manuscript extracts from rare revolutionary publications which invite further inquiry. Of this kind, for example, is an extract, in volume IV, from the *Gazette Universelle* of 6 April 1791, reproducing in translation an alleged British Foreign Office directive of 15 March 1791, entitled *Mémoire d'instruction envoyé par ordre de sa Majesté Britannique à ses ministres dans les cours étrangères*. This piece, full of phrases and arguments which seem to betray a Burkian origin, was detected by the newspaper editor who printed it as a bogus fabrication, and was immediately repudiated by the British ambassador in Paris and by the Duke of Leeds as Foreign Secretary.² It throws, nevertheless, a curious light upon the devious efforts which were being made, as early as the spring of 1791, to build up a European counter-revolutionary crusade.

"Two other rare and important pamphlets in this series may also be worth mentioning—one is a Physiocratic pamphlet by the Abbé Baudeau criticizing the radical reform plans of Calonne on

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, xvii. 332-5.

² *Gazette Universelle, ou Papier-Nouvelles de tous les pays et de tous les jours*, 6-8 April 1791.

the eve of the revolution, in volume V,¹ and the other, in volume I, is a manuscript copy of a curious broadside of 1789—*Litanies du Tiers État*, which enables one to identify in detail some of the lesser known members of the Liberal aristocracy who championed the claims of the Third Estate.²

"The Adolphus tracts are mainly interesting, not on account of their intrinsic historical value, but because they are a collection formed by one of the first contemporary English historians of the French revolution. John Adolphus (1768-1845), barrister-at-law, assistant of Archdeacon W. Coxe, occasional pamphleteer for Addington's administration, and defender, in 1820, of the Cato St. conspirators, was the author of the *Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution*, 2 vols., 1799. This work, strongly anti-Jacobin in tone, was praised by Croker as the best English work on the subject before his own, but is now significant only in a historiographical sense. The tracts do enable one, however, to appreciate the inadequacy and biased nature of the source-material at the disposal of such early British historians.

"It is impossible here to select from, or to give even a summary description of, the thousands of miscellaneous French revolutionary pamphlets which are on deposit in the Library. Many are merely fugitive pieces, others, on the other hand, are probably extremely rare and only specialists in the periods of French local, ecclesiastical, judicial, social and economic history could determine their real historical value. What is certain, however, is that almost any historian of the period would find some grist to his mill in this collection and the use to which this material can be put by informed scholars has once again been demonstrated by Mr. R. B. Rose.³ It is to be hoped that his example will encourage others.

¹ *Idées d'un citoyen presque sexagénaire sur l'état actuel du Royaume de France, comparées à celles de sa jeunesse*. Paris, 1787.

² By D. L. B., "citoyen de Caux".

³ Cf. "The French Revolution and the Grain Supply: Nationalization Pamphlets in the John Rylands Library", *BULLETIN*, xxxix (1956-7), 171-87, and "Socialism and the French Revolution: the Cercle Social and the Enragés", *ibid.* xli (1958-9), 139-66.

“The Library’s collection of revolutionary journals and periodicals is, however, one of the most complete and representative in the world. Here, fortunately, it is possible to illustrate the holdings by mentioning a few select examples. Invaluable as a work of reference are the 27 volumes of the original folio edition of the *Moniteur* (1789-1815) which contain much, especially for the period after April 1796, that was subsequently omitted from the reprinted edition of 1858-63. Among the Library’s most treasured possessions in this field—which it owes once more to the generosity of the present Lord Crawford’s father—are the mounted folio copies of the *Bulletin de la Convention Nationale*, with its practically unbroken run of issues and *suppléments* from 16 September 1792 to 30 December 1794.¹ Though it has considerable gaps between the latter date and the final issue of 26 October 1795, it is possible that it is a finer and more complete set than the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It was certainly more complete than that copy in 1901, when collated by J. P. Edmond, and only slightly inferior to the most perfect set known to bibliographers—that in the *Chambre des Députés*.² This *Bulletin* is of outstanding historical importance because it reprints intact documents which are only alluded to in the official *procès-verbal* of the Convention, and also the text of many others, of which the originals have disappeared.³

“Of the most famous of the French newspapers of the revolutionary period the collection also includes complete sets of the following: Le Hodey’s *Journal des États-Généraux* (27 April 1789-30 September 1791); Mirabeau’s *Lettres à ses commettants* and *Courrier de Provence* (2 May 1789-30 September 1791);⁴ Barère’s *Point du Jour* (19 June 1789-21 October 1791); Lousstalot’s *Révolutions de Paris* (12 July 1789-28 February 1794);

¹ It lacks only the issues for 5-15 September 1792, the second *supplément* for 6 July 1793, the first and second *suppléments* for 4 Prairial an II (23 May 1794) and the first *supplément* for 21 Prairial an II (9 June 1794).

² See *Bibliotheca Lindesiana: Collations and Notes* No. 6. Privately printed, 1902.

³ P. Caron, *Manuel Pratique pour l'étude de la Révolution française*. Paris, 1947, p. 204.

⁴ Lacks only the last two issues—Nos. 349 and 350.

Gaultier de Biauzat's *Journal des Débats et des décrets* (29 August 1789–19 May 1797); Marat's *Ami du Peuple* (12 September 1789–14 July 1793); J. G. Peltier's satirical and counter-revolutionary *Actes des Apôtres* (November 1789–October 1791); the two parallel series of the Royalist *Ami du Roi* by Crapart-Montjoie (1 June 1790–10 August 1792) and the Abbé Royou (1 September 1790–4 May 1792); the *Journal des Débats de la Société des Amis de la Constitution, séante aux Jacobins de Paris* (1 June 1791–14 December 1793); Camille Desmoulins' *Le Vieux Cordelier* (5 December 1793–25 January 1794); Richer-Serizy's influential Thermidorian newspaper *L'Accusateur Public* (July 1794–September 1789); Babeuf's *Journal de la Liberté de la Presse* (3 September–23 September 1794); the *Journal du Petit Gaultier* (20 May–4 September 1797); and Mallet du Pan's *Mercure Britannique* (10 October 1798–25 March 1800).¹

"Lastly, the collection is distinguished because it includes many of the rarest and most valuable of the French revolutionary newspapers. Among the most notable of these are two of Marat's earliest journalistic ventures—the single issue of *Le Moniteur Patriote* (? August 1789)² and the thirteen numbers of *Le Junius Français* (2–24 June 1790). Of special interest to historians are the complete sets of the newspapers of the Moderates—the *Journal de la Société de 1789* (15 June–15 September 1790);³ Fontanes' *Journal de la Société des Amis de la Constitutions Monarchique* (18 December 1790–18 June 1791), and Choderlos de Laclos' Feuillant newspaper *Journal des Amis de la Constitution*.⁴ Here, too, are copies of the first and short-lived republican journal—*Le Républicain, ou défenseur du Gouvernement Représentatif* (July 1791) with contributions from Paine, Condorcet, Clavière and Duchâtelet; a representative collection of

¹ It should be noted that *complete* sets of these journals are extremely rare even in France.

² Hatin notes that he had been able to trace only one copy of this—which he regarded as unique—in the Bibliothèque du Corps Législatif (*Bibliographie Historique et critique de la Press Périodique Française*. Paris, 1866, p. 100.)

³ This club was a splinter-group of Moderates from the Jacobin club, organized by Malouet. Among the contributors to the journal were Condorcet, Dupont de Nemours, Pastoret and André Chénier.

⁴ This newspaper is especially valuable for the light it throws on the schism in the Jacobin club which followed the Champs de Mars incident of July 1791.

the publications of Bonneville's and Fauchet's *Cercle Social* (including extremely rare complete sets of the *Bulletin des Amis de la Vérité* (31 December 1792–30 April 1793) and the *Journal des Amis* (4 January–June 1793) and Laveaux's *Premier Journal de la Convention Nationale* (21 September 1792–30 June 1793) with its continuation (*Le Journal de la Montagne* (31 May 1793–8 November 1794). Equally rare and important are complete sets of the *Bulletins* of the two Revolutionary Criminal Tribunals in Paris—those of 17 August 1792 and its more famous successor—of 10 March 1793. Not without interest to admirers of Robespierre is the fact that the complete sets of *Le défenseur de la Constitution* (1 June–10 August 1792) and his *Lettres à ses commettants* (August 1792–15 March 1793) are authenticated as his own personal copies.”¹

The following is a list of recent Library Publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the latest issue of the BULLETIN (March 1959):

RECENT
LIBRARY
PUBLICATIONS

“The Patristic Accounts of Jewish Sectarianism.” By Matthew Black, Principal of St. Mary's College and Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews. 8vo, pp. 19. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

“The *Historia Eliensis* as a Source of Twelfth-Century History.” By E. O. Blake, Lecturer in History in the University of Southampton. 8vo, pp. 24. Price three shillings net.

“Religious Issues in Late Nineteenth-Century Novels.” By Wallace Evan Davies, Associate Professor of History in the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo, pp. 32. Price three shillings net.

“The Exeter Domesday and its Construction.” By R. Welldon Finn. 8vo, pp. 28. Price three shillings net.

“A Missing Leaf from Swift's ‘Holyhead Journal’.” By George P. Mayhew, Assistant Professor of English at the California Institute of Technology. 8vo, pp. 26. Price three shillings net.

“The Exegesis of Scripture and the Arian Controversy.”

¹ For their invaluable assistance in the preparation of this note and their unfailing forbearance I have to thank Mr. R. Hall and Dr. F. Taylor.

By T. E. Pollard. 8vo, pp. 16. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

"The Arabic Chess Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library." By Joseph de Somogyi. 8vo, pp. 16. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

"New Sayings of Jesus in the Recently Discovered Coptic 'Gospel of Thomas'." By Walter C. Till, Reader in Coptic in the University of Manchester, Tit. Ao. Professor in Egyptology (Vienna). 8vo, pp. 13. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

"The Bloodfeud of the Franks." By J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 29. Price three shillings net.

"A Unique *Kol-nidrē* Piyyuṭ from the Cairo Genīzah in the Gaster Collection in the John Rylands Library." By Meir Wallenstein, Senior Lecturer in Medieval and Modern Hebrew in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 13, with one plate. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

"A Lord Mayor's Show by John Taylor, the Water Poet." By Sheila Williams, Lecturer in English, Jews' College, London. 8vo, pp. 31. Price three shillings net.

The following Public Lectures (the fifty-eighth series) have been arranged for delivery in the Lecture Hall of the Library during the current session 1959-60 at 3 p.m. in the afternoon.

14 October 1959. "Thomas Müntzer, Hans Huth and the 'Gospel in All Creatures'." By E. G. Rupp, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester.

11 November 1959. "The Parables as Allegory." By Matthew Black, Principal of St. Mary's College and Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews.

9 December 1959. "The Federalist Movement in Caen during the French Revolution." By A. Goodwin, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester.

13 January 1960. "Staging and Scenery in the Ancient Greek Theatre." By T. B. L. Webster, Professor of Greek, University College, London.

THE
FIFTY-EIGHTH
SERIES OF
RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES

10 February 1960. "Elijah on Mount Carmel." By H. H. Rowley, Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

9 March 1960. "Tragical-comical-historical-pastoral: Elizabethan dramatic terminology." By Allardyce Nicoll, Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Birmingham and Director of the Shakespeare Institute.

4 May 1960. "The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople." By D. Talbot Rice, Watson Gordon Professor of the History of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Illustrated with lantern slides.

Since the last issue of the BULLETIN the following donors have made valuable gifts of books to the Library, and to them the Governors offer grateful thanks :

PRINTED
BOOKS:
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MALLARMÉ ON MUSIC AND LETTERS

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IN the first volume of *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Entry No. 383 reads :

The elder Languages fitter for Poetry because they expressed only prominent ideas with clearness, others but darkly—Therefore the French wholly unfit for Poetry ; because is clear in their Language—i.e.—Feelings created by obscure ideas associate themselves with the one *clear* idea. . . .

And in Entry No. 1016, Coleridge asks this question :

Whether or no the too great definiteness of Terms in any language may not consume too much of the vital and idea-creating force in distinct, clear, full made Images & so prevent originality—*original* thought as distinguished from positive thought—Germans in general—

“ Therefore the French wholly unfit for Poetry. . . . ”
This was written probably in 1799 : Racine had then lain a century dead ; André Chénier’s work was still to be revealed ; Alfred de Vigny was a child of two, Lamartine a boy of nine ; and Victor Hugo was not to see the light of day until the new century itself was two years old. The three successive waves of the one great poetic renewal, Romanticism, Parnassus and Symbolism, were yet to come. Had Coleridge been writing in 1899, had he been able to read the work of Gérard de Nerval, of Baudelaire and Mallarmé, and the early writings of Claudel and Valéry, he might not have written that the French language was “ wholly unfit for poetry ”. For by then French poetry had undergone a radical transformation. One aspect of this change is the subject of this paper.

Some thirty-eight years ago Paul Valéry suggested that what was baptized *Symbolism* could be very simply summed up by the intention, common to several families of poets (otherwise on very bad terms with each other), of “ taking back from Music what properly belonged to them ”. Since then, this definition

has become a commonplace of literary history. But, like many commonplaces, it is more often repeated than examined or discussed; like many definitions, it needs to be itself defined. What was this property that Music was alleged to have stolen from Poetry? And when did Poetry seriously begin to lodge a claim for its return? In her thesis Madame Thérèse Marix-Spire has recently shown, with a wealth of new facts and new interpretations, that the French Romanticists were far more aware music, of and far more deeply influenced by music, than had been generally recognized hitherto. Scornfully rejecting the accepted notion that Music and Letters began to draw together in France only during the Symbolist period, she produces overwhelming evidence to show that George Sand, for one, lived, moved and had her being in the realm of music, and that her work, in substance and style, was profoundly influenced by this art.¹

But Valéry was speaking of poetry, not of prose; and it is, I think, still true that Baudelaire was the first of the great modern French poets "to experience, to invoke, and to question Music".² He did so on the occasion of the scandalous reception of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* in 1861, when it was performed in Paris, and hooted off the stage. But this date, 1861, is enough to reveal that Wagner can have had no significant influence on Baudelaire's poetry; for in that year the second edition of *Les Fleurs du Mal* appeared and set the seal on Baudelaire's poetic achievement. What Baudelaire found in Wagner was the confirmation of his own aesthetic theories; the suggestive and evocative power of this music seemed to him a further illustration of the doctrine of correspondences, of the reciprocity of the various sensorial impressions; and, by the "passionate energy of its expression" (one of Baudelaire's supreme aesthetic and moral values), it marked Wagner as the truest representative of

¹ Thérèse Marix-Spire, *Les Romantiques et la Musique, Le Cas George Sand* 1804-38 (Paris, 1954). The Valéry quotation comes, of course, from his *Avant-Propos* to Lucien Fabre's book of poems *La connaissance de la Déesse* (1920), reprinted in the first volume of *Variété* (1924). See p. 95 of the current edition.

² *Variété*, p. 93. Baudelaire's views on Wagner are discussed briefly in my book *L'Univers poétique de Baudelaire* (Paris, 1956), pp. 260-81.

the nature of modern man. Baudelaire discussed Wagner's theories on the relations between Music and Poetry in terms that were closely read by the next generation of poets, and by none more than by Mallarmé.

Valéry claims, not altogether wrongly, that Romantic music, as represented by Berlioz and Wagner, for example, had been seeking for *literary* effects, for Romantic literary effects. And he claims, quite rightly, that Music achieved these effects better than literature could do. For, as he sardonically comments, "the violence, not to say the frenzy, the exaggeration of profundity, of distress, of brilliance, or of purity which were to the taste of that period, can hardly be translated into language without involving much silliness and many ridiculous features . . . ; and these elements of ruin are less perceptible in musicians than in poets".¹ Valéry emphasizes the dynamic resources of the orchestra, and the force of its physical impact on the hearer's sensibility. Small wonder that poetry should "feel itself grow pale and faint" in the presence of such a formidable rival, if what Valéry says of the Symbolist poets is true: "our literary heads dreamed of nothing but deriving from language almost the same effects as the purely sonorous causes produced on our nervous beings".² But is this true of all the Symbolist poets? It is often overlooked that Valéry had placed within quotation marks the phrase concerning their alleged desire to "recover from Music what properly belonged to them". The author of this phrase was in fact, not Valéry, but his master, Mallarmé. Our initial question can therefore be more precisely formulated in these terms: How did Mallarmé propose to recover from Music what he considered to be the rightful property of Poetry? This raises a number of other problems: how did Mallarmé define Music? How did he define Poetry and what did he consider to be the relation between these two arts?

Now there is one answer that has often been given to the first question: how Mallarmé proposed to take back from Music what rightly belonged to Poetry. It is beautifully simple; but it is highly improbable that it is the right one. It states that

¹ *Variété*, p. 93.

² *Ibid.* pp. 94-5.

the stolen property in question is the *sound* of words, and that Mallarmé's intention was to group together words devoid of any logical or grammatical coherence, hoping that they would thereby produce similar effects to those of music. This, it is claimed, is what is meant by *poésie pure*. No less an authority than Gustave Lanson was one of the first to give currency to this theory, which is, needless to say, a complete travesty of Mallarmé's real intentions; and many other critics, often, incidentally, well-disposed towards Mallarmé, have subsequently repeated this erroneous interpretation. Valéry himself sometimes gives one the impression that he shared this view. This is how Lanson formulated it:

He thought that one could write pure poetry, reduce words to being nothing but musical sounds that produce emotion and evoke images, and strip them of their intelligible meaning, which he regarded as commonplace, because it was customary. He imagined he could also dispense with the structure that logic and grammar assign to the sentence, and group together words solely in accordance with the rhythm singing within him and the associations they spontaneously formed.¹

There is one truth in this tissue of errors: Mallarmé did indeed strive to attain "pure poetry". But the path he followed went in exactly the opposite direction to the one that Lanson thought he took. For while he began by envying Music its mystery, he ended by asserting repeatedly that Poetry is superior to Music precisely because it is intelligible, because it has a discursive meaning; and while his use of language was undoubtedly highly original, he always insisted that syntax is the guarantee of poetic intelligibility. Mallarmé, in fact, first turned towards Music in quest of obscurity, and in the end exalted Poetry in the name of clarity.

¹ *Histoire de la littérature française* (Paris, 22nd edn.), p. 1129. The same error vitiates Sir Maurice Bowra's account of Mallarmé in *The Heritage of Symbolism* (London, 1945), p. 14, but is rectified in a more recent statement. Cf. his address on *Poets and Scholars*, reprinted in *English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century, Second Series* (Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 150-1: "... Scholars . . . have unravelled the main secrets of his art and proved that, so far from courting ambiguity, he maintained a hard core of intelligible structure behind the mystery which he loved and expressed through evocative symbols. . . . The scholars were right in denying that he was guilty of wilful obfuscation. . . . The process reveals Mallarmé's genius in its true splendour, and we are now beginning to enjoy his poetry as it really deserves."

Another common misconception concerns the date at which Mallarmé became aware of the existence of Music and of its challenge to Poetry. It is customary to date his preoccupation with Music from 1885. On Good Friday of that year, Edouard Dujardin, the founder and editor of the *Revue wagnérienne*, took Mallarmé to the *Concert Lamoureux*; and henceforth, Mallarmé went regularly every Sunday afternoon throughout the winter to the *Cirque d'Hiver* where the concerts were held.¹ While it is true that from that date onwards the problem became a real obsession, it should not be forgotten that Mallarmé makes constant reference to Music from the beginning of his career, and that he was not long in formulating his essential ideas on the subject. His daughter Geneviève states that when young he disdained music, on the grounds that true music is to be found in verse; but this is a remark which he would have endorsed at any age.² What Geneviève Mallarmé did not know was that even before she was born, her father, aged twenty, had begun one of his first important articles, a youthful and truculent profession of faith, by a comparison between the methods and resources of Music and Poetry that was all to the advantage of Music.

Under the provocative title *Artistic Heresies: Art for All*, Mallarmé fulminates against the popularization of Poetry. For this, he blames, on the one hand, the practice of teaching poetry in schools as if it were a science, and, on the other hand, those poets themselves who deliberately write, like Victor Hugo, for the masses. But this, Mallarmé feels, is only possible because Poetry, unlike the other arts, does not possess an autonomous means of expression, and is obliged to use for its own very special ends the language common to all. At this early stage, Mallarmé deplored this bondage in these eloquent terms :

¹ See Edouard Dujardin, *Mallarmé par un des siens* (Paris, 1936), pp. 40-1, 216; Henri Mondor, *Vie de Mallarmé* (Paris, 1941), pp. 451, 531 (referred to below as VM).

² She also reveals that he would never allow her to learn to play the piano, and that is certainly evidence of a real aversion, in an age when this art was considered an indispensable "accomplishment" for young ladies. Cf. *Nouvelle Revue Française*, special number of homage to Mallarmé, 1 November 1926, p. 521.

Everything that is sacred and that wants to remain sacred shrouds itself in mystery. Religions take refuge behind arcana disclosed solely to the elect : art has its own.

Music affords an example. If we idly open Mozart, Beethoven or Wagner and cast a casual glance at the first page of their work, we are smitten with religious awe at the sight of those gruesome processions of stern, chaste and unknown signs. And we close the missal unsullied by any sacrilegious thought.

I have often wondered why this indispensable feature has been denied to one single art, the greatest. That art holds no mystery to protect it from hypocritical curiosity, no terror to avert acts of impiety, or to defend it from the smile and the grin of the ignorant and hostile.

And Mallarmé explains that this greatest of all arts is, of course, Poetry ; and he deplores that the same letters are used to print Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal* and the daily newspaper, or popular fiction :

Thus anybody and everybody can plunge straight into a masterpiece, and since poets have existed, there has never been invented, to ward off these intruders, an undefiled language,—hieratic formulae whose arid study blinds the uninitiate and spurs on the predestined victim ; —and these uninvited guests bear by way of an admission card a page of the ABC wherein they learnt to read !

O golden clasps of ancient missals ! O inviolate hieroglyphs of papyrus scrolls !¹

Thus at the outset of his career, Mallarmé conceived of art as a "mystery accessible to rare individuals",² and he deplored that poetry had not been fully recognized as such. In strong reaction against the democratic, not to say demagogic, poetry of Victor Hugo, he was already seeking to lay the foundations of an aristocratic poetry, intelligible to the initiate alone. If he appeals to Music it is merely because Music possesses its own language, its own form of notation : there is no suggestion here that Poetry is Music's debtor or creditor. Nor is there yet any hint that Poetry might be able to devise its own "undefiled language" by a process of inner transformation, and not by any external device. Such speculations were to come later. What is significant here is that Mallarmé sees already in musical notation a potent, if external, "means of mystery".

Meanwhile in all the poems of Mallarmé's first period—those published in the *Parnasse Contemporain* of 1866—musical

¹ *Oeuvres complètes*, edited by H. Mondor and G. Jean-Aubry (Paris, 1945), Collection de la Pléiade, p. 256 (referred to below as OC).

² OC, p. 259.

instruments and musical imagery play a fairly prominent part: this poetic orchestra includes rare and archaic instruments such as the Egyptian sistrum (picked up probably from Ronsard)¹ and the medieval rebeck (probably noted in his reading of Mathurin Régnier)², his favourite instruments being, however, the viola and the harpsichord. In Mallarmé's correspondence at the same period, musical analogies frequently recur. Thus when deploring his solitude at Tournon in January 1865, he compares himself to a musical instrument: "... A poor poet, who is only a poet, that is, an instrument that resounds beneath the fingers of the various sensations, is mute when he lives in surroundings where nothing affects him, then his strings grow slack and then come dust and oblivion".³ Again we find him describing the section of *Hérodiade* on which he was working in the winter of 1865-6 as the "musical overture" of his poem, as an "elusive overture singing within me but which I cannot take down".⁴ In reality, Poetry was already for Mallarmé the total art, and the references to Music are matched by allusions to Painting. Thus the "musical overture" to *Hérodiade* is also described in pictorial terms. Mallarmé claims that the dialogue between *Hérodiade* and the Nurse is to the overture what an *image d'Epinal* is to a canvas by Leonardo da Vinci.⁵ Elsewhere he evokes all the complex conditions that must be fulfilled if his ideal is to be realized, and once again Music and Painting are invoked on equal terms:

... But if you only knew (he writes to Cazalis) how many nights of despair and days of reverie must be offered up in order to succeed in writing original

¹ Cf. Littré, s.v. *sistre*.

² Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. *rebec*.

³ *Propos sur la Poésie*, ed. H. Mondor (Monaco, 2nd edn., 1953), p. 50 (referred to below as PP). Curiously enough, Wagner had complained, ten years before, of his solitude in Zürich, in terms at once similar and very different: "By this life-destroying solitude", he wrote to Princess Caroline Wittgenstein, "anyone like myself must finally be ruined. Favourable moods for work come to me more and more infrequently in my barren life, and without any incitement for my art I shall no longer be able to complete it. So long as I was writing books and composing poetry, it was all right: but for music I need a different life, I need music itself; but as things are, I am like someone trying to kindle a fire and who has the light but not the wood for it". Quoted in *Einleitung*, p. 3, of Reklam edition of the libretto of *Die Walküre*.

⁴ PP, p. 63.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 65.

poetry (a thing I had never achieved so far) and worthy, in its ultimate mysteries, of delighting a poet's soul ! What a study of the sound and colour of words, music and painting, through which your thought must pass, however beautiful, in order to be poetic !¹

These words were written in July 1865, when Mallarmé was working on the first version of *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*. Later he was to describe his intentions in this poem in purely musical terms : replying to a question by Jules Huret, conducting in 1891 his famous inquiry into the literary developments of the day, Mallarmé said of his poem : " In it, I was trying to place alongside the alexandrine in all its decorum, a kind of running byplay strummed around it, as who should say a musical accompaniment written by the poet himself and allowing the official line to emerge only on the great occasions ".² But it is significant that as early as 1865 he should have stressed the musical values his poetry was to incorporate. Small wonder that when he heard that Debussy had undertaken his *Prélude*, he exclaimed : " I thought I had set it to music myself ! " ³ The same conviction that Poetry is at no disadvantage compared with Music underlies the half-serious, half-humorous, and delightfully frivolous *Chronicle*, so typical of the tone of *La Dernière Mode*, that Mallarmé devoted on 6 December 1874 to the theatrical, literary and artistic life of Paris. His highly personal prose style is already taking shape, with all its subtlety and complexity. His views on musical history are also highly personal ; whereas Victor Hugo declared that music dates from the sixteenth century, Mallarmé seems to place its origins in the eighteenth!

Though scarcely a century old, Music today holds sway over every soul : a cult for several among you ladies, who are enamoured of her, and for others a pleasure, she has her catechumens and her dilettanti. Her marvellous privilege is to arouse, by devices that are alleged to be forbidden to speech, very profoundly, the subtlest or the grandest reveries ; and further to authorize whoever listens to her to fix for a long time upon a point of the ceiling devoid even of paintings, his or her gaze, while opening a mouth glad to blossom out in its customary silence. The whole of Society life is there : to hide the fine higher emotions that imagination is made for, and even often to pretend to have them. Who would dare complain that, an incorporeal Muse, wholly made up of sounds and quivers, this deity, Music, nay, this cloud, endowed with the pervasive power of a charming plague, should now invade the city's theatres one by one : since

¹ PP. p. 58.² OC, p. 870.³ VM, p. 370.

she evokes around these social centres of her glory, in the boxes, in the dress-circle, alive ! the most wonderful types and the most richly bedecked representatives of feminine beauty !¹

" By devices that are alleged to be forbidden to speech. . . . " Once again Mallarmé strikes the key-note of his variations on this theme. It rings out again at the end of this Chronicle when he somewhat unexpectedly sings the praises of Auguste Vacquerie's comedy *Tragaldabas*: " What music there is in these four acts, exquisite, dreamlike or sparkling, if only one of you, Ladies, is willing, having closed your piano, to hear, to the sole rhythm of the verse, the passion, animating their dialogue, arise therefrom ! " ²

In this same Chronicle, Mallarmé discusses the possibility of inaugurating the new Paris Opera-house which Garnier had just completed by a performance of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, and " by an extraordinary display of glory, avenging it for the insult once perpetrated in the name of France by a hundred-odd unmannerly cads ".³ Mallarmé, as we have seen, well knew Baudelaire's brilliant essay. He had also had first-hand impressions of Wagner from his friends Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Catulle Mendès and Judith Gautier, who had spent a few days with him in Avignon, on their return from a visit to Wagner in Lucerne, just after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Villiers had been introduced to Wagner by Baudelaire in 1862, and he was famous among his friends for his one-man performances of Wagner's operas on the piano, worthy of the best traditions of *Le Neveu de Rameau*, as described by Diderot. Mendès had written enthusiastically to Mallarmé of Wagner and the " new art that is neither poetry nor music " created by him, in a letter dating from April 1870. And so it is not surprising to find Mallarmé speaking out in favour of Wagner as early as 1874:

I have dwelt on these facts because they have often been overlooked. But I do not want to exaggerate their significance. After all, Mallarmé cannot have had much opportunity of hearing

¹ OC, p. 817. *La Dernière Mode* was the " Society and Family Fashion Gazette " which Mallarmé produced single-handed from September to December 1874.

² OC, p. 820.

³ OC, p. 818.

music during his provincial years. There is, however, positive proof that the desire was there. On several occasions, when referring to Paris and its possibilities, he specifically mentions music among his deepest needs.¹ But he also mentions painting too; and after his installation in Paris, it was painting that first became a passion, thanks to his friendship with Manet. In 1874, the same year in which he spoke up for Wagner, he also took up the cudgels in defence of Manet, two of whose pictures out of three had been rejected by the Jury charged with the selection of pictures for the Salon. Until Manet's death in 1883, Mallarmé was a frequent visitor to the painter's studio, dropping in on his way home from the *lycée*. Perhaps it was the gap left by Manet's death that was filled by his new-found passion for music. His name is found among the *membres fondateurs* of the *Concerts d'orgue* given on Saturdays at the Palais de Chaillot from early 1883 to the end of 1884.² The flame that had long been smouldering blazed up on Good Friday, 1885, when, with Edouard Dujardin and Huysmans, he attended his first *Concert Lamoureux*; and from that time onwards Mallarmé not only lost no opportunity of hearing orchestral, choral and organ music, but he grappled again and again in his writings with the problem of Music and Letters.

He did so with all the more zeal because he felt that his own poetry had already in its first phase gone a long way towards introducing some of the devices of music. This emerges very clearly from a letter to René Ghil dated 7 March 1885, the very year in which his concert-going habits were formed. Commenting on Ghil's first collection of poems, Mallarmé warned his young disciple against going too far in the imitation of musical techniques—a warning that went unheeded by the inventor of “Verbal Instrumentation” and the deviser of “exact”

¹ PP, p. 44: “J'ai besoin d'hommes, de Parisiennes amies, de tableaux, de musique . . .” (To Cazalis, July 1864); p. 50: “Tête faible, j'avais besoin de toutes les surexcitations, celle des amis dont la voix enflamme, celle des tableaux, de la musique, du bruit, de la vie . . .” (To Cazalis, January 1865).

² Detail kindly supplied by Mrs. Cynthia Lawrance, through Mr. Anthony Pugh.

equivalences between musical instruments, vowel sounds and colours !

I shall only find fault with you for one thing (wrote Mallarmé) : in this act of rightful restitution, which must be ours, of taking everything back from music, its rhythms which are only those of reason and its very colourings which are those of our passions evoked by reverie, you tend to let the old dogma of the Verse vanish away. Oh ! the more we extend the sum of our impressions and the more we refine them, the more, with a vigorous synthesis of mind, we should concentrate all those elements into clear-cut, solid, tangible and unforgettable lines. Your phrasing is a composer's rather than a writer's : I quite understand your exquisite intention, having been that way myself, only to return as you will perhaps do of your own accord !¹

Mallarmé's references to music in the last phase of his life constitute a complicated sequence of variations on a given theme : characteristically enough, Mallarmé used this musical term as the running title of his last series of articles. While sometimes varying the emphasis, he remains faithful to his central beliefs, and especially to his conviction that Literature is the supreme art.

But what then were his motives in so assiduously attending the Sunday afternoon concerts? He sought and found there, first of all, what he humorously called "the Sunday washing of the commonplace"; he went to concerts, according to a remark recorded by Bonniot, "out of a mere regard for cleanliness, to wash away the words heard during the week". For the first virtue of music seemed to him its power to purify. "The orchestra with its floods of glory and sadness outpoured" appeared to him to carry out the "musical swilling of the Temple"². But the orchestra had far higher functions for Mallarmé than this; and he half-mockingly half-seriously notes that "Music promises to be the last plenary cult of man", the audience being animated less by aesthetic than by unwittingly religious motives. He himself used to say: "I am going to Vespers", when leaving for a concert. He dreamed of creating a new religion whose rites would combine the resources of dancing, poetry and music. He believed that in a concert the

¹ PP, pp. 139-40.

² OC, pp. 390, 322; Bonniot in *Les Marges*, 10 January 1936, t. LVII, No. 224, p. 11.

orchestra "synthetised the immortal, innate refinements and splendours that unknown to all are present in the concourse of a silent audience".¹ I do not, however, wish to follow up here these ultimate dreams of Mallarmé, but rather to consider the more narrowly poetic aspects of his views on music, in so far as it is possible to isolate them, and in so far as it is possible to express them in terms other than his own.²

Mallarmé saw in Music, first of all a supreme example of that "divine transposition from the fact to the Ideal, to accomplish which man exists". He believed that Music transmuted the external world into a subtle essence, that it was in fact a quintessence of Nature. He confesses that he had loved Nature in his youth with a fervour, a passion comparable to that funeral pyre that Nature lights up in autumn for her glorious suicide. When he later discovered Music, he recognized in its subtle fire that last recurrent flame wherein the groves and the skies were offered up as a holocaust. Elsewhere he affirms that musical instruments detach the summit of natural landscapes, evaporate them and reform them, wavering, in a higher state. A chord, almost devoid of any reminiscence of hunting is enough to express the forest, fused into the green twilight horizon : or the meadow, with its pastoral fluidity as of an afternoon that has slipped by, is mirrored and flees away in stream-like strains. A line, a little vibration, each succinct, and the whole picture is betokened. Unlike lyric art, as it was, eloquential, owing to the strict need for meaning. Although there is linked up with it a supremacy, namely a rending of the veil and lucidity, the Word remains, in subjects, in means, more massively bound to Nature.³

¹ Geneviève Mallarmé, art. cit., NRF, 1 November 1926, p. 521 ; OC, pp. 388, 545.

² One of the chief problems that arise in dealing with Mallarmé is that any detail of his thought almost inevitably involves by implication his total position. In lines written a few weeks before his death, he says that a thought never occurs to him in isolation ; his thoughts are musically placed to form a whole and when isolated they lose their truth and ring false. (Cf. OC, p. 883.) Another problem is that with Mallarmé as with Flaubert, thought is inseparable from its expression. Mallarmé's poetic theory is itself poetry, and his language carries with it all the subtle overtones, the ironic or humorous qualifications that are an integral part of his "meaning". I have therefore quoted him as far as possible in his own terms, translated as faithfully as possible, given the different genius of the two languages.

³ OC, pp. 522, 402-3.

But Poetry can escape from this bondage by following the example of Music and taking as its ideal, not description, but suggestion. And the instrument of this suggestive art is analogy, which destroys the materiality of things by bringing them together in metaphor: objects are volatilized and only their abstract point of resemblance remains. The poet's object is to "institute an exact relationship between images from which will emerge a third aspect, fusible and clear, offered up to the reader's divination".¹ This means the end of descriptive literature, although as Mallarmé recognizes, masterpieces have been written in this vein. Henceforth literature will seek to express only the mood or attitude of the poet in the presence of Nature, the atmosphere of the wood rather than the exact form of the trees.

Although Mallarmé seems to beg a large question by his assumption that Music is a transmutation of the natural world into its own ideal realm, the conclusion drawn for Poetry is certainly a valid one. And in so far as he is concerned with "descriptive" or programme music, he reveals deep insight into the nature of musical expression. It is interesting to note that Beethoven uses very similar terms, in the notes he left concerning the significance of the *Pastoral Symphony*:

It is left to the hearer to discover the situations. *Sinfonia caratteristica*—or a recollection of country life. Any painting loses its effect when it is carried too far in instrumental music,—*Sinfonia pastorella*. Anybody who has ever had any idea of country life can imagine the composer's intentions, even without a lot of descriptive titles.—Even without any description the whole will be recognized: it is an impression rather than sound-painting.

Another note is a little more explicit: "Pastoral symphony not painting, but in it are expressed the impressions aroused in man by the enjoyment of the countryside, whereby some feelings of country life are depicted. . . ."²

Very early in his career, Mallarmé had defined his poetics in two words: "To depict, not the thing, but the effect it produces."³ The first-fruits of his experience of music were the confirmation and deepening of this initial intuition.

¹ OC. p. 365.

² *Beethovens Briefe und persönliche Aufzeichnungen* (Leipzig, n.d.), p. 50.

³ OC, p. 46.

But it may be objected that pure or absolute music has nothing to do with the evocation, however tenuous, of scenes or landscapes. This is true ; but there is no lack of evidence to show that Mallarmé was not unaware of this. He sought and found in music other lessons than that of suggestion or evocation. The most controversial of all is his theory of obscurity. In one of his last theoretical writings, entitled *Mystery in Letters*, and dating from 1896, Mallarmé declares that the coming of Music has put an end to the exclusive reign of clarity in literature, the famous *clarté française* : and he asserts the rights of Poetry to Mystery, hitherto reserved to Music. In this article Mallarmé, who for many years had borne with humour and good humour the unceasing insults heaped upon him, launches for once a vigorous counter-attack against his accusers. He charges them with " exhibiting things in an imperturbable foreground, like hawkers, hurried on by the pressure of the moment ". What is the use of writing if it is only to display banality? he asks, " rather than to spread out the cloud, the precious cloud, floating over the inmost abyss of every thought, since that is vulgar to which is assigned, no more, an immediate character ". And over against the doctrine of " clarity poured out in a continuous stream ", Mallarmé places the aesthetic use of obscurity which, by an effect of contrast gives clarity " the momentary character of liberation ". He declares that Music has learnt from Nature and from the Heavens alternations of light and shade ; and that henceforward Poetry must seek for analogous effects :

Music, in its time, has come to sweep all that away—

In the course, merely of the piece, through assumed veils, those still relative to ourselves, a subject emerges from their successive stagnancy accumulated and dispersed with art—

The usual arrangement.

One may, moreover, begin with a triumphant outburst too sudden to last ; inviting the gathering up, in suspensions, released by the echo, of the surprise.

The opposite : are, in a dark withdrawal anxious to attest the state of mind on a point, pressed down and thickened, doubts, so that there may emerge a simple definitive splendour.

This twin, intellectual method, is discernible in symphonies, which found it in the repertory of Nature and the sky.¹

¹ OC, pp. 384-5.

The predominantly visual character of these vivid impressionistic evocations of musical effects is at once apparent: a subject gradually becoming visible through veils or light breaking forth from darkness. Mallarmé quotes no examples, and one can only speculate about what precisely he had in mind. Perhaps he was thinking of such a passage as the long modulation, full of foreboding, at the end of the third movement of Beethoven's Fifth (C Minor) Symphony, followed immediately and without a break by the glorious triumphal fanfare that opens the fourth movement. This might appear to the layman to be the outburst of a "simple definitive splendour" after a "dark withdrawal" of "doubts pressed down and thickened". Be this as it may, this effect struck Mallarmé so much that he often reverted to it: in his Oxford and Cambridge lecture on Music and Letters, for example, he once again describes this method of composition, "... wherein there follows on re-entries into darkness, after an anxious swirling, all at once the eruptive manifold springing up of light, like the imminent irradiations of the break of day".¹

Now these are really effects of chiaroscuro, belonging to painting rather than to music, except in so far as they presuppose temporal succession: but for our purpose it is enough that Mallarmé felt entitled to borrow them from music.² I believe that he did in fact try to apply these principles in some of his later poems: appropriately enough, for example, in his sonnet of homage to Wagner, where the movement goes from the

¹ OC, p. 648.

² I am indebted to my friend and colleague Professor Eugène Vinaver for reading my text, making some very valuable comments and, in particular, contributing the following remarks on this point: "So far as I know the most authoritative recent formulation of the problem of 'clarity' and 'obscurity' in music is the one given by Schloezer in his *Introduction à J.-S. Bach*. In the light of this formulation, and of musical aesthetics generally, Mallarmé's fundamental fallacy is the *conceptual* assessment of 'obscurity' in music, the notion that whatever is not translatable in non-musical terms (pictorial or intellectual) is obscure. A musicologist would say that clarity and obscurity in music can only occur on the structural or compositional plane, *pace* all the composers who often talk about their music in the most naïve 'pictorial' terms. Like most artists (but perhaps unlike Mallarmé) *ils ne savent pas ce qu'ils font*. Programme music of the most obvious kind can be *musically* obscure, and pure, 'indecipherable' music very clear. If I remember rightly, Professor P. Mansell Jones said something to this effect in our discussion."

mysterious darkness of the opening quatrain to the magnificent, luminous apotheosis of the tercets. But this example also reveals the dangers of the method: the darkness of the opening lines is intellectual as well as visual. If a poem is to be intelligible, it is not enough that certain parts should be clear; and *chiaroscuro* can be merely a polite term for obscurity. Obscurity thus achieved is a purely external means of attaining mystery.

This brings us to the third and last aspect of the relations between Music and Letters in Mallarmé's aesthetics that I wish to touch on: the problem of the "meaning" of poetry, of its "intelligibility". It is here that Mallarmé places the decisive superiority of Poetry over Music. For while it is true that traditional poetry was too often nothing but rhythmical and rhyming prose, giving primacy to the clarity of its discursive content, while neglecting its function of creating a particular state of resonance within the reader's sensibility, music on the other hand seemed to Mallarmé to possess great emotive power without having any intelligible significance, being, as he once put it, "a facile occultism with inscrutable ecstasies".¹ The ideal poetry of which he dreamed would unite the suggestive power of music to the intellectual clarity of speech. Mallarmé indefatigably reverts to this supremacy possessed by the poet because of his medium, "the humblest consequently essential, speech", "the vulgar and superior medium, elocution", "the words, the apt words, of the school, the home and the market".²

We have moved far from the stage where Mallarmé envied Music its esoteric notation: he now sees an advantage in the very fact that had once seemed to him a servitude, namely, that Poetry must use as its medium the language common to all. For he had come to learn that the distinctive character of poetry lies not in any external feature, but in the new function to which it applies human speech. It is the poet's duty to "give a purer

¹ OC, p. 416. Professor F. Kermode has very appositely recalled Coleridge's words: "Yet I wish I did know something more of the wondrous mystery of this mighty *hot magic*. . . ." (Cf. *Inquiring Spirit, a new presentation of Coleridge*, ed. K. Coburn (London, 1951), p. 214).

² OC, pp. 334, 389, 653.

meaning to the words of the tribe".¹ No longer seeking to exclude the common run of men from the Temple of art, Mallarmé now dreamed of great Festivals wherein the whole of humanity would be called to celebrate the divinity latent in every soul.² And while awaiting the day of these new Ceremonials, the Book, he felt, could adequately stand for all other forms of art. Again and again he declares that all the effects of all the arts, and especially those of the great rival, Music, are within the scope and compass of Poetry: "A solitary, silent concert is given, by reading, to the mind that regains, in compensation for a lesser sonority, significance: no mental means exalting the symphony will be lacking, rarefied, that is all—by the act of thought. Poetry, close to the Idea, is Music, pre-eminently—admits no inferiority".³

And Poetry in this sense is not confined to metrical writing. To illustrate this conformity between the two arts, Mallarmé quoted Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, as one of the great, the "magic" writers who raised literature to the heights of music. Mallarmé declares that Villiers's work "recalls to mind the enigma of the orchestra" by qualities he evokes in one of those impressionistic passages which reveal what he felt to be the true effect of music, namely the awakening of the most diverse human feelings and moods, freed from any form of imagery, visual or otherwise: "clash of triumphs, abstract sorrow, laughter wild or worse when it is hushed, and the bitter gliding of shadows and eventides, with unknown gravity and peace."⁴ In the presence of this analogy between Villiers's work and music, Mallarmé thus expresses his "supreme opinion":

It seems that by an order of the literary spirit, and through forethought, at the very moment when music seems to be better suited than any rite to what is latent and for ever abstruse in the presence of a crowd, it has been shown that nothing, in the inarticulateness or anonymity of these cries, jubilation, outbursts of pride and every kind of rapture, exists that cannot, with equal magnificence

¹ *Le Tombeau d'Edgar Poe*: "Donner un sens plus pur aux mots de la tribu. . . ." This line is echoed by T. S. Eliot in *Little Gidding*: "To purify the dialect of the tribe. . . ."

² OC, pp. 390, 393, 394, 395.

³ OC, p. 380.

⁴ OC, p. 507.

and moreover our consciousness, that clarity, be rendered by old and sacred elocution ; or the Word, when it is somebody that utters it.¹

"Our consciousness, that clarity !" Thus Mallarmé finally and definitively reinstates clarity in literature. But in reality he had never sought obscurity as such ; what he primarily wished to win back for French poetry was the feeling for mystery, suggestive and evocative power, and, at the same time, a high degree of abstraction and immateriality. He wanted to save the language of poetry from bondage to the referential function of speech, and to liberate it for the widest play of its connotational potentialities. That was the true "property" that was to be reclaimed from Music. And if Mallarmé sometimes seemed ready to jettison the essential intellectual clarity of Poetry in favour of these new values, he finally reaffirmed the traditional values of Poetry, which he wanted to perfect and not to abolish. Just as Music is obliged to accept, in song, "the triumphant contribution of the word . . . so as not to remain the forces of life blind to their splendour, latent or devoid of an outlet", even so Poetry can "descend into the dusk of sound" in order to find there "some explosion of Mystery to all the heavens of its impersonal magnificence", in order to relearn the art of evocation, of allusion, of suggestion.² But, all things considered, Poetry will retain, from this "pooling of resources and retempering", the advantage of clarity. The ultimate aim of the two arts is the same ; and Mallarmé sometimes tries to place them impartially on the same level : ". . . Music and Letters are the alternative face here extended towards the obscure ; scintillating there, with certainty, of one phenomenon, the only one . . . the Idea."³

¹ Oc, p. 507. Cf. Charles Du Bos, *Qu'est-ce que la Littérature?* (Paris, 1945), pp. 39-40, for an admirable plea for final rather than initial clarity in literature : "qui veut au terme la lumière doit redouter la clarté au départ. . . ."

² OC, pp. 648-9, 365. In referring to the "triumphal contribution of the word", Mallarmé may perhaps be thinking of the *Hymn to Joy* in Beethoven's Choral Symphony. It is interesting to note, however, that Beethoven himself did in fact attribute a very precise psychological and even dramatic meaning to each of his works, and would have liked to indicate this meaning by titles in his complete works. (Cf. Romain Rolland : *Beethoven : les grandes époques créatrices*, tome vi, *la Cathédrale interrompue*, III, *Finita Comoedia* (Paris, 1945), p. 63.)

³ OC, p. 649.

But that is not his last word on the subject. His supreme utterance assigns to Poetry the highest place, as being the true Music, destined to intone the "hymn, harmony and joy . . . of the relations between all things".¹ For Mallarmé's life-long dream of the great Book to end all Books dominates and explains his cryptic meditations on the "reciprocal means of mystery" that Music and Letters were for him: "It is not from elementary sonorities by brass, strings, and woodwind, undeniably but from intellectual speech at its apogee that there must wholly and patently result as the totality of relationships existing in everything, Music."²

But the discussion of what Mallarmé meant by the Idea and the history of his dream of the Great Work is another subject. As this Work never came near commencement, to say nothing of completion, I have preferred to discuss some aspects of his existing writings. I should like to conclude by stressing that Mallarmé is not really an aesthetician nor is he a philosopher. He is a poet, a poet in everything that he wrote; and his poetic theories are themselves poetry, whether expressed in verse or in prose. To be properly understood, they must be read in Mallarmé's own terms and in his own language. Their form is their true content. Poetry was for Mallarmé the true philosophy, as music was for Beethoven and painting for Leonardo da Vinci. After Mallarmé's repeated claims in favour of the supremacy of poetry (which I do not ask you to endorse), it is amusing to see what his fellow-artists had to say on the subject. Leonardo makes equally exclusive claims for painting: "Painting excels and ranks higher than music, because it does not fade away as soon as it is born, as is the fate of unhappy music. . . . The poet ranks far below the painter in the representation of visible things, and far below the musician in that of invisible things. . . . The painter is lord of all types of people and of all things. . . .

¹ OC, p. 378. On this point, cf. my article "Mallarmé et le rêve du 'Livre'", *Mercure de France* (January 1953), pp. 81-108. Cf. also the valuable discussion by Professor R. Peacock in Ch. IX ("Music and Poetry") of his book *The Art of Drama* (London, 1957), pp. 120-156, esp. p. 151: "Here is indicated the haunting image of a transcendent dream, hovering beyond both poetry and music in their ordinary forms."

² OC, pp. 367-8.

Oh wonderful science which can preserve the transient beauty of mortals and endow it with a permanence greater than the works of nature ! ”¹ Beethoven is a little less arrogant, and is prepared to make some concessions : but his ultimate view is no less favourable to his own art. He declares that “ the description of a picture belongs to painting. The poet too can deem himself fortunate in this ; he is a master whose domain is not so limited in this as mine. But mine extends farther into other regions, and our realm is not so easily attained ”.² Beethoven’s biographer and panegyrist, Romain Rolland, goes farther still, and gives more specific reasons for the faith that is within him. After commenting on a brief transitional passage in the slow movement of Beethoven’s Choral Symphony, he apologizes to the lay reader for having gone into so many details, and then continues thus :

I wanted the non-musical reader to feel the extraordinary complexity of the art of music which, beneath the hand of a master like Beethoven, commands resources that are, alas ! denied to the writer, for realizing within a very brief space the synthesis of most varied emotions and reflections. In sixteen bars this transitional *adagio* includes a world of different intuitions and apperceptions ; and a Beethoven can at once pursue therein the course of his meditations as a man of thought, a man of passion, and the perfect solution of problems of writing set by his construction as a pure musician. All must be seen and embraced, with the eyes, with the heart. Long live music, which enables us to read, with a single glance, on a single stave, on all levels of thought, all its most secret movements and, out of their diverse voices makes one simultaneous voice, a “ symphony ” !³

¹ Irma A. Richter, *Selections from the Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci* (Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 194-9. Cf. Delacroix, who, although he loved music and sometimes seems to set it highest, nevertheless regarded painting as supreme. See *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix* (London, 1951), p. 39 (“ Painting—and I have said this a hundred times—has advantages which no other art possesses ”), pp. 91-2, 200-1, 258-9, 267-8, 369 (“ Superiority of music ; absence of reasoning (not of logic). . . . The intense delight which music gives me—it seems that the intellect has no share in the pleasure. That is why pedants class music as a lower form of art ”), etc.

² Romain Rolland, op. cit. tome i, *De l’Héroïque à l’Appassionata*, p. 206 n.

³ Ibid. tome iv, *La Neuvième Symphonie*, p. 92. Cf. also Beethoven’s famous words reported by Bettina Brentano and quoted by R. Rolland, ibid, tome vii, *Les Aimées de Beethoven*, p. 117 : “ Dieu est plus près de moi, dans mon art, que des autres . . . la musique est une plus haute révélation que toute philosophie. . . . Qui a compris une fois ma musique sera libre de la misère, où les autres se traînent ! . . . ”

But every artist is entitled, perhaps indeed bound, to regard his own art as the highest form of human activity. And, indeed, it may well be that each branch of art, when raised to its highest perfection, realizes within its own sphere something of that all-embracing synthesis which Wagner hoped to attain by the juxtaposition or combination of painting, poetry and music. It may well be that Mallarmé's meditations on Music and Letters as the reciprocal "means of mystery" and, still more, his dream of the supreme Book, are to be taken as an allegory of the ultimate ideal inspiring every artist, whether he knows it or not.¹

¹ Since this article was set up, an excellent book has appeared, dealing in some detail with the problems discussed here: Suzanne Bernard: *Mallarmé et la musique* (Paris, 1959).

MANCHESTER IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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THE following "delightful if somewhat ungrammatical" description of Manchester, as it has been called, is given at the base of an engraving entitled *The South-West Prospect of Manchester in the County Palatine of Lancaster*, published by S. and N. Buck in 1728 :

Manchester is neither Borough nor Corporation, but a spacious, rich and populous Inland Town in the Hundred of Salford and South East part of Lancashire. Situate upon a Rocky Cliff, at the confluence of the Rivers Irk and Irwell, [?which] add much pleasure to its healthfull soil, which is most part Gravelly. It is a Mannour with Courts Leet and Baron ; which at the decease of the present Lady Dowager Bland will devolve to Sir Oswald Mosley, Barrt. Tis governed by two Constables, annuall chosen in the Court Leet at Michlms : Tis famous for the Woollen, Linnen and Cotton Manufactories, whereby it's immensely enriched and many 100 poor Families employed from several Counties. This Town is adorned with many noted buildings . . . and with handsom broad Streets both New and Old ; And a large Bridge over the River Irwell which joyneth Salford, a populous, Beautiful Town, giving name to the Hundred, and seemeth as a Suburb thereto. The Exchange now building by Sir Oswald and the River Irwell falling into the Mersey, communicateth with Liverpool which (by their expence and labour) hath gained a considerable progress and is soon expected to be made navigable.¹

What was the size of the urban community known as Manchester in the latter half of the eighteenth century? As the late A. P. Wadsworth remarked : "the early estimates of the population of Manchester are remarkable for nothing more than their variety."² Our difficulties are increased by confusion

¹ Quoted by J. Lee in *Maps and Plans of Manchester and Salford, 1650 to 1843* (1957), pp. 10-11.

² A. P. Wadsworth and J. de L. Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780* (1931), pp. 509-11, Appendix A : "The Growth of Manchester" ; Dr. J. Aikin, *A Description of the Country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester* (1795) pp. 155-7 ; P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century* (1928), pp. 365-6.

between the *ecclesiastical parish* of Manchester, which covered sixty square miles, and the *civil township* of Manchester which had a much smaller area. In addition, a distinction was sometimes made by eighteenth-century writers between the *township* of Manchester and the *town* of Manchester, i.e. the built-up area inside the township. Another frequent source of confusion is a reluctance to quote separate figures for Manchester and Salford. For example, in 1773 Dr. Percival quoted an estimate of 1717 which gave the population in that year as 8,000, but he was uncertain whether Salford was included or not. Certain returns made to the Bishop of Chester about 1717 suggest that Manchester had a population of 10,000 and Salford one of 2,500. In the latter half of the eighteenth century more trustworthy figures are available. In 1758 an enumeration of the population of Manchester took place as the result of a dispute about the manorial corn-mill rights and the figure of 17,101 was obtained for the township. The population had therefore roughly doubled in the previous fifty years. According to Percival, the rate of increase became more rapid after 1765 and in 1773-4 a further "enumeration of the houses and inhabitants of the town and parish of Manchester" was taken "by a person employed for the purpose, and at the joint expence of a few gentlemen in the town". The manuscript volumes of this return are now preserved in Chetham's Library and John Whitaker expressed his belief in a note written in one of them that this enumeration was "sufficiently accurate for every literary or political use". The township of Manchester by then contained 24,386 persons in 5,678 families. In the period of recovery after the commercial crisis of 1771-2 "the town extended on every side, and such was the influx of inhabitants, that though a great number of houses were built, they were occupied even before they were finished".¹ Manchester's rising prosperity had not therefore been seriously checked by the War of American Independence. Nevertheless, the war and its aftermath did aggravate certain social problems. Dr. Henry remarked on the increased incidence of fever during

¹ Dr. Thomas Henry, "Observations on the Bills of Mortality for the towns of Manchester and Salford", *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, iii (1795), 160.

1783-5 as compared with 1780-2, and considered that it was probably due to

. . . the crowded and uncleanly manner, in which the poorer people have been lodged, owing to the want of houses to accommodate them : for, though, many have been erected, yet several causes have contributed to restrain the spirit of building. During the war, the high price of timber was a considerable obstacle ; and since the peace, the frosts, which were, for two years together, very intense, and continued until the spring was far advanced, have prevented the making of bricks, and together with the tax, greatly enhanced their price.¹

By Christmas 1788 the population of Manchester township had further increased to 42,821.² Less than thirteen years later, when the first nation-wide census was taken (1801), there had been another spectacular rise to 70,409. It was little wonder that on his visit to Manchester in 1784 Monsieur de Givry, member of a group of French visitors engaged in industrial espionage, could write that Manchester was a "large and superb town . . . which has been built almost entirely in the past 20 to 25 years".³

We can distinguish three main direct causes of this spectacular rise. First of all there was immigration into Manchester. This influx consisted mainly of persons in the prime of life, with their young families. Most of them came from the districts immediately surrounding the town, attracted by the jobs on offer in one of the growing points of the British economy. But there was also an appreciable volume of long-distance immigration, particularly from Scotland and Ireland. The number of Scottish names in the Manchester and Salford directories increases rapidly after the 1770s⁴ and many of the doctors and surgeons attached to the Infirmary were Scots.⁵

Secondly, there was a natural increase, the surplus of births over deaths. Although the death rate was high by modern

¹ Henry, *op. cit.* iii, 161-2.

² Aikin, *op. cit.* p. 157. See also W. Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital, 1752-1948* (1952), p. 213, Appendix III : "Population of Manchester".

³ *Archives Nationales*, Paris, T 591 : 4 et 5.

⁴ J. T. Crofton, "The Scots and Manchester after the '45," *Trans. Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, xxvi, 1908 (1909), pp. 65-95 ; W. H. Chaloner, "John Galloway (1804-1894) . . .", *ibid.* lxiv (1954), 93-4.

⁵ E. M. Brockbank, *Sketches of the Lives and Work of the Honorary Medical Staff of the Manchester Infirmary . . . 1752 to 1830* (1904), *passim*.

standards, so was the birth rate, and there seems little evidence that the death rate was rising between 1750 and 1800. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a substantial excess of births over deaths appears to have occurred every year. For the three years 1765, 1766 and 1767 the Manchester and Salford bills of mortality (for what they are worth) show an annual average of 900 baptisms and 811 burials, whereas for the three years 1783, 1784 and 1785 the corresponding figures are 1,838 and 1,468.¹ The figures for 1791 are 2,960 births and 2,286 deaths.²

Thirdly, as the eighteenth century wore on, increasing supplies of food were available. This had not always been the case. 1756, 1757 and 1758, for example, were years of high food prices and food riots in Manchester, the price of oatmeal, the staple diet of the population, reaching a peak of 39s. 6d. per load of 240 lb. early in 1757, compared with less than 20s. a load in 1753. There were food riots in the town in 1762.³ The miseries of these years, however, do not seem to be paralleled again, in spite of the vastly increased population, until 1812 brought the notorious Shudehill potato riot.⁴ The reasons can be sought in improved communications, which enabled food to be brought into the Manchester markets from an ever-widening area, and secondly the introduction of new foods, of which the most

¹ Henry, *op. cit.* pp. 163-4. Henry gives the triennial figures for the whole period 1765-85. The baptisms for 1786 and 1787 were 2,219 and 2,256 respectively and the burials 1,282 and 1,761 respectively (*ibid.* p. 173). The bills of mortality for the *township* of Manchester from 1580 to 1832 are printed in E. Baines, *The history of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster* (edn. of 1868 by J. Harland), i. 346-8. The last year in which they show an excess of burials over baptisms is 1766. Baines stated in 1836 that they had been "extracted from the registers of the Collegiate Church to the year 1821; and subsequent to that time from those registers and the register of the Rusholme Road Cemetery combined". He went on: "There are also funerals at other churches and chapels in the town, fluctuating from 500 to 1,000 a year" (*op. cit.* p. 348, n. 2). For criticisms of these and the Parish Register Abstract figures for Manchester see Barbara Hammond, "Urban death-rates in the early nineteenth century" (*Economic History*, no. 3, Supplement to the *Economic Journal*, January 1928, pp. 419-28 and esp. pp. 424-6).

² Aikin, *op. cit.* p. 157.

³ Wadsworth and Mann, *op. cit.* pp. 355-78.

⁴ J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Skilled Labourer, 1760-1832* (1920), pp. 287-9.

useful was the potato. But the potato was not alone—it was merely the most spectacular addition to the diet. Dr. John Aikin wrote in 1795 :

The supply of provision to this populous town and neighbourhood is a circumstance well deserving of notice. Formerly, oatmeal, which was the staple article of diet of the labouring class in Lancashire, was brought from Stockport ; . . . Since that time, the demand for corn and flour has been increasing to a vast amount, and new sources of supply have been opened from distant parts by the navigations, so that monopoly or scarcity cannot be apprehended, though the price of these articles must always be high in a district which produces so little and consumes so much.

Early cabbages, and cucumbers for pickling, are furnished by gardeners about Warrington ; early potatoes, carrots, peas, and beans, from the sandy land on and about Bowden downs. Potatoes, now a most important auxiliary to bread in the diet of all classes, are brought from various parts, especially from about Runcorn and Frodsham, by the duke of Bridgewater's canal. Apples, which form a considerable and valuable article of the diet even of the poor in Manchester, used in pies or puddings, are imported from the distance of the cyder counties by means of the communicating canals, and in such quantities, that upwards of 3000*l.* in a year has been paid for their freight alone. The articles of milk and butter, which used to be supplied by the dairy-farmers in the vicinity, at moderate rates, are now, from the increase of population, become as dear as in the metropolis, and are furnished in a similar manner ; viz. the milk, by means of milk houses in the town, which contract for it by the great, and retail it out ; and the butter from considerable distances, as well as salt butter from Ireland and other places. Of butcher's meat, veal and pork are mostly brought by country butchers and farmers ; mutton and beef are slaughtered by the town butchers, the animals being generally driven from a distance, except the milch cows of the neighbourhood, which are fattened when old. The supply of meat and poultry is sufficiently plentiful on market days ; but on other days it is scarcely possible to procure beef from the butchers ; nor is poultry to be had at any price, there being no such trade as a poulterer in the whole town. Wild fowl of various kinds are brought to market in the season.

With fish, Manchester is better provided than might be expected from its inland situation. The greatest quantity of sea-fish comes from the Yorkshire coast, consisting of large cod, lobsters, and turbot, of which last, many are sent even to Liverpool, on an overflow of the market. Soles, chiefly of a small size, come from the Lancashire coast. Salmon are brought in plenty from the rivers Mersey and Ribble, principally the latter. The rivers in the neighbourhood abound in trout, and in what is called *brood*, which are young salmon from one to two years old, and not easily distinguished from trout, which they closely resemble in shape, but are more delicate to the taste. Salmon trout is also plentiful, and likewise fine eels. The Irwell at Manchester and for some distance below is, however, destitute of fish, the water being poisoned by liquor flowing in from the dye-houses. Many ponds and old marl-pits in the neighbourhood are well stored with carp and tench, and pike and other fresh water fish are often brought to market. The poor have a welcome addition to their usual fare, in

the herrings from the Isle of Man, which in the season are brought in large quantities, and are sold at a cheap rate.¹

The movement of foodstuffs into Manchester on this scale could not be effected without major changes in local transport facilities. Lancashire in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was notorious for its bad roads, supplemented by the famous paved causeways of stones raised above the level of the fields, which were just wide enough for horses but too narrow for wheeled traffic.

Improvement began, however, as far as the Manchester area was concerned, in the early eighteenth century. In 1738 a local historian wrote that there were causeways "everywhere about Manchester . . . of a common breadth and kept in good repair by the extraordinary care of the proper officers".² It is significant that the first road in Lancashire to be placed under the administration of a turnpike trust was the stretch from Manchester to Stockport. This road formed part of the Manchester to Buxton trust set up by Act of Parliament in 1725. In 1732 the Manchester-Ashton-under-Lyne-Mottram road was turnpiked, and this was followed three years later by the Manchester-Oldham-Austerlands road. For most of the second half of the eighteenth century there was great activity in road improvement in south-east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire. But roads formed only a part of the transport facilities of the area. We have seen that S. and N. Buck remarked in 1728 on the work then in progress with a view to rendering the Rivers Mersey and Irwell navigable up to Hunt's Bank under an Act of Parliament passed in 1721. The men who directed and financed this task included members of the chief trading families of this area—John Lees of Clarksfield, Oldham, Joseph Byrom, a wealthy mercer, James Lightbowne, a woollen draper, and also

¹ Op. cit. pp. 203-5. Further details concerning the supply of potatoes to Manchester are given by R. N. Salaman, "The oxnoble potato . . .", *Trans. Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, lvi (1954), 66-82. For the growth of the wholesale trade in foodstuffs in the nineteenth century see H. B. Wilkinson, *Old Hanging Ditch: its trades, its traders and its renaissance* (1910) *passim*, and J. T. Slugg, *Reminiscences of Manchester fifty years ago* (1881), *passim*.

² Quoted in G. H. Tupling, "The turnpike trusts of Lancashire", *Mem. and Proc. Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, xciv (1952-3), p. 2.

the "chief linen drapers" of Manchester.¹ Although the two rivers were rendered navigable as far as Manchester by the early 1730s, the project yielded no profit to its proprietors for many years.² Then in 1737 seven landowners and merchants from Manchester and the neighbourhood obtained a second Act empowering them to deepen and render navigable Worsley brook, down to its junction with the Irwell. Some, if not all, of this second set of "undertakers" seem to have been connected with the Mersey and Irwell river navigation. But the scheme did not materialize and a plan put forward by a group of Manchester men for a canal from Manchester to Leigh and Wigan in 1753-4, i.e. five years before the Duke of Bridgewater's project, also came to nothing.³

The story of the third Duke of Bridgewater's canal enterprise, which brought his Worsley coal to Castlefield in the heart of Manchester by 1764,⁴ has frequently been told. By reducing the price of coal, it certainly made Manchester a more comfortable place to live in. But more important was the extension of the Duke's canal across north Cheshire to Runcorn on the Mersey, opened throughout in 1776. Not only did this extension make it possible to send north Cheshire potatoes into Manchester, but it also provided a means of sending raw cotton from the West Indies, and later from the Southern States of the U.S.A., into south-east Lancashire via Liverpool. We must not, however, exaggerate Manchester's dependence on coal supplies from the Worsley pits. The Bradford colliery in East Manchester was sunk in the 1760s, and Dr. Aikin had this to say about the sources from which Manchester drew its supplies in the early 1790s :

The supply of coals to Manchester is chiefly derived from the pits about Oldham, Ashton, Dukinfield, Hyde, Newton, Denton, etc. . . . The supply from the

¹ T. S. Willan, *River Navigation in England, 1600-1750* (1936), pp. 30, 37-8, 59-61.

² H. Clegg, "The third Duke of Bridgewater's canal works in Manchester", *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.* lxxv (1955), 92.

³ V. I. Tomlinson, "Salford activities connected with the Bridgewater Canal", *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.* lxxvi (1956), 53-5.

⁴ Clegg, *op. cit.* pp. 94-5. The canal was not, as is often stated, opened throughout to Manchester in 1761.

duke of Bridgewater's pits at Worsley is less considerable, though a very useful addition for the poor.¹

The industries of Manchester, and the fortunes of the merchants and wholesale manufacturers who directed them have only received fragmentary treatment at the hands of economic historians. It is true that we have that classic work *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780* (1931) by the late A. P. Wadsworth and Miss Julia de Lacy Mann, and Professor Redford's *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade, 1794-1858* (1934). But it is curious that in a recent article on "The Merchants in England in the Eighteenth Century" ² by Mr. Walter E. Minchinton, the Manchester merchants are nowhere mentioned, although it was mainly through their efforts and those of their agents that the official value of British exports of cotton goods was pushed up from practically nothing in 1751 (£45,986) to £200,000 by 1764, and to nearly £5½ million by 1800, a figure almost equal to that for woollen and worsted cloth, linens, ribbons and mixed cloths of linen and cotton.³ These men financed the spinners and weavers of south-east Lancashire by supplying them with raw materials and yarns. They also saw to the bleaching, dyeing and finally the printing of the goods they had made. Their activities tended to diminish the other local wholesale markets such as that of Bolton.⁴ But this was not the whole range of Manchester's industries. Silk throwing and silk weaving flourished in the late eighteenth century and so did the manufacture of hats.

Then from the 1770s came the boom in cotton associated

¹ Op. cit. p. 205.

² *The Entrepreneur: papers presented at the Annual Conference of the Economic History Society . . . 1957*, 1957 (Research Centre in Entrepreneurial History, Harvard).

³ E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, (1835), p. 215; Charles Wilson, "The entrepreneur in the Industrial Revolution in Britain", *History*, xlii, no. 145 (June 1957), p. 108. Little has been published on the history of Manchester banking since L. H. Grindon's *Manchester Banks and Bankers* (1877), but mention should be made of T. S. Ashton's article on "The Bill of Exchange and Private Banks in Lancashire, 1790-1830", *Econ. Hist. Rev.* xv (1945), 25-35.

⁴ Aikin, op. cit. p. 158; [James Ogden,] *A Description of Manchester* (1783), p. 46.

with the great inventions and the beginnings of the factory system. The first cotton factory in Manchester appears to have been that built in the early 1780s by the famous Sir Richard Arkwright, in partnership with Messrs. Simpson and Whittenbury. It stood on Shudehill and was noteworthy because the warp-spinning frame was driven by water power supplemented by a single-acting pumping engine of the Newcomen type. This replenished the water wheel's reservoir by pumping back into it the water which had passed over the wheel. Some of the wholesale buyers who supplied goods both to home and overseas markets followed the example of Arkwright and began to invest profits made from merchanting in mechanized cotton spinning. Such a man was Peter Drinkwater (? 1742-1801) who in the 1770s was a wholesale fustian manufacturer, living in Spring Gardens, with a warehouse in King Street, and an extensive trade overseas. In the 1780s Drinkwater began to transmute some of the capital he had accumulated as a textile middleman into industrial capital. Some time in the 1780s he purchased or set up a water-driven cotton spinning mill at Northwich in Cheshire for the production of warps and in 1789 began to build his second factory, a four-storied building which lay just off Piccadilly between Auburn Street and Upton Street. This was powered by a Boulton and Watt rotary steam engine—the first in Manchester—which was used in the carding of cotton and the preparation of rovings. He also installed some 144-spindle mules worked by hand, and appointed good managers. From 1792 to 1794 or 1795 the famous Robert Owen managed Drinkwater's two mills and after Owen came Robert Humphreys, who applied steam-power to Drinkwater's mules according to Kelly's method of 1790.¹ By 1800 there were dozens of cotton spinning mills in the Manchester area and an unsuccessful attempt had even been made by the Grimshaw brothers in 1791 to try out, in a factory at Knott Mill, Deansgate, 500 of the clumsy power looms, invented by the Rev. Edmund Cartwright. But the mill was burnt down in 1792 and not rebuilt. The Manchester

¹ W. H. Chaloner, "Robert Owen, Peter Drinkwater and the early factory system in Manchester, 1788-1800", *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, xxxvii (1954-5), 82-94.

handloom weavers continued to enjoy general prosperity during the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.¹

The mechanization of cotton spinning created a demand for textile machinery making and engineering industries. In the 1790s a number of Manchester firms arose to satisfy this demand. The most important of them was undoubtedly the partnership of James Bateman and William Sherratt, although their steam-engine factory was actually in Salford. Here they manufactured not only "large cast wheels for the cotton machines" and old-fashioned Newcomen engines, but also pirated Boulton and Watt's patent rotary steam engine.² At Knott Mill, Alexander Brodie (1732-1811), London financier, Shropshire ironmaster and armaments manufacturer, set up a foundry and steam engine works about 1790 in partnership with two men named McNiven and Ormrod.³ Apart from these two large firms there were many smaller concerns by 1800.

Auxiliary trades expanded in sympathy. Aikin wrote in 1795 :

The making of paper at mills in the vicinity has been brought to great perfection, and now includes all kinds, from the strongest parcelling paper to the finest writing sorts, and that on which banker's bills are printed.⁴ . . . The tin-plate workers have found additional employment in furnishing many articles for spinning machines ; as have also the braziers in casting wheels for the motion-work of the rollers used in them ; and the clock-makers in cutting them. Harness

¹ There had been an attempt by a Mr. Gartside about 1758 to drive swivel-looms by water power at Garratt Hall (Aikin, op. cit. pp. 175-6 ; Wadsworth and Mann, op. cit. pp. 301-2).

² Aikin, op. cit. pp. 176-7 ; T. S. Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution* (1924), pp. 80-1, 102 ; F. S. Stancliffe, *John Shaw's, 1738-1938* (1938), pp. 69-70 (Wm. Sherratt), pp. 87-8 (James Bateman). Some details about the Griffin Iron Foundry, Swan Street, Manchester, set up in the 1780s as a branch of a Derbyshire firm, are given in P. Robinson's *The Smiths of Chesterfield : a history of the Griffin Foundry, Brampton, 1775-1833* (Chesterfield, 1957), p. 43. The early history of engineering in Manchester has recently been discussed in detail by A. E. Musson and Eric Robinson "The Early Growth of Steam Power", *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., xi (April, 1959), 418-39).

³ Chaloner, "John Galloway . . .", *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, lxiv (1954), 103-4. According to Galloway, Brodie was the "maker of a new stove for ships, and had a large connection, especially with Government".

⁴ Aikin, op. cit. p. 176. This is a reference to the brown-paper mill of Smith and Inglis at Throstle Nest, Agecroft (D. C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860* (1958), p. 197 ; Chaloner, op. cit. p. 96).

makers have been much employed in making bands for carding engines . . . whereby the consumption of strong curried leather has been much increased.¹

The spectacular growth of the cotton industry naturally aroused much interest in France and Germany and from the late 1770s there was a trickle of foreign visitors to the town. The French geologist Faujas de St. Fond remarked during a visit to Manchester in 1784 that he could get no admission to the cotton factories because of the previous activities of visiting Frenchmen who had been engaged in spying out industrial secrets. And in 1792 another Frenchman, F. C. L. Albert, received and served a sentence of four years' imprisonment in Lancaster Castle for trying to secure specimens of cotton machinery and endeavouring to induce Manchester operatives to emigrate to France.² Gradually, however, the interest of foreigners in Manchester took on a different form. They came to stay as merchants and manufacturers. It is no accident that John Scholes's manuscript register of foreign merchants in Manchester begins in 1784,³ and as early as 1799 a German, Carl Friedrich Brandt, was nominated as boroughreeve of the town.⁴ Perhaps the most eminent of these "new Mancunians" of the 1790s was Nathan Meyer Rothschild, the German-Jewish financier (1777-1836), although he did not stay for many years.⁵ Aikin summed up the situation as follows :

Within the last twenty or thirty years the vast increase of foreign trade has caused many of the Manchester manufacturers to travel abroad, and agents or partners to be fixed for a considerable time on the Continent, as well as foreigners to reside at Manchester. And the town has now in every respect assumed the style and manners of one of the commercial capitals of Europe.⁶

In contrast with this exuberant economic advance, local government in the township of Manchester made only modest progress in the eighteenth century. Up to 1765 Manchester's

¹ Aikin, *op. cit.* p. 178.

² The evidence concerning Albert's activities is conveniently summarized in W. O. Henderson, *Britain and Industrial Europe, 1750-1870* (1954), pp. 46-7.

³ John Scholes, "Manchester Foreign Merchants, 1784-1870" (MS., Manchester Central Reference Library).

⁴ *The Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester* (ed. J. P. Earwaker), ix (1889), 261.

⁵ *D.N.B.* vol. xlix.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 184.

local government status, as Defoe remarked in a hackneyed phrase, was indeed that of a village—it was governed by the Court Leet of the lord of the manor. Every year the Court Leet chose unpaid officers who were to see to the performance of the various municipal services such as they were understood at the time—the boroughreeve (a kind of mayor, but with little executive power), the day police, the market lookers or inspectors, the scavengers, etc. As the Court Leet met only twice a year long periods sometimes elapsed before offenders were summoned before it. Yet the eighteenth-century alternative to this system was to have an oligarchical municipal corporation which might try to control and warp the town's economic development in its own narrow interest, and would take just as limited a view as the Court Leet did of its sanitary functions. Aikin summed up eighteenth-century majority opinion when he remarked: "With respect to *government*, it remains an open town, destitute (probably to its advantage) of a corporation, and unrepresented in Parliament."¹

But in 1765 would-be local reformers secured the passage of the Manchester and Salford Police Act, which set up a body of Cleansing and Lighting Commissioners empowered to provide, among other things, a more adequate fire brigade. Such local acts were the normal eighteenth-century method of securing better urban sanitation.² If the influential inhabitants named in the act had only used their statutory powers more vigorously they could have largely superseded the Court Leet, but they did not, and things went on much as before. Then in 1776 the first Manchester Improvement Act was obtained for widening and improving, in particular, Old Mill Gate and St. Mary's Gate, and also opening a new street between the Exchange and St. Ann's Square. The Act named the commissioners empowered to carry out the improvements and anyone who subscribed £20 to the good work could join their number. Having accomplished the purpose for which they were set up, the Improvement Commissioners naturally rested from their labours. In the

¹ Op. cit. p. 191.

² B. Keith Lucas, "Some influences affecting the development of sanitary legislation in England", *Econ. Hist. Review*, 2nd ser., vi, No. 3 (April 1954), 290-6.

1780s there was much discontent with the Court Leet, which had in many of its functions become "sluggish and inactive", and the setting up of the Manchester and Salford Police Commissioners by yet another Act of Parliament in 1792 was the first substantial step towards a recognizably modern system of local government. Some of the clauses of the 1765 Act were re-enacted word-for-word in the measure of 1792,¹ but for the first few years the new Police Commissioners did little to justify their existence. They had the power to light and cleanse the streets and to maintain a police force during the hours of darkness, but none of these things had been done adequately by the winter of 1798-9. John Cross described the situation in 1799 as follows :

. . . during many wet and dark winter months, the streets have remained uncleansed and without lights ; for some time no watchmen or patrols were appointed . . . and none could pass through the streets in safety. Escaping personal violence, they were still in imminent personal danger, from the numerous unguarded cellars, pits and various obstructions that every where interrupted their passage . . . the streets are still crowded with annoyances . . . not a street has been widened or laid open.²

From 1799 onwards a new spirit of enterprise animated the Police Commissioners and, by the time they were superseded by the new Manchester Borough Council in the early 1840s, they had so extended their powers and functions as to become one of the most progressive local governing bodies in Great Britain.

It has recently been suggested by two eminent medical men "that specific medical measures introduced during the eighteenth century are unlikely to have contributed substantially to a reduction in the death-rate".³ An examination of the work of the doctors associated with what is now the Manchester Royal Infirmary in the first fifty years of its existence suggests that this judgement may well be based on an inadequate appraisal of the histories of particular hospitals. What is now known as the Manchester Royal Infirmary was established in 1752 by a

¹ A. Redford, assisted by I. S. Russell, *History of Local Government in Manchester*, i (1939), 100-1, 157-8, 192-3, 200-1.

² Redford and Russell, *op. cit.* pp. 206-7.

³ T. McKeown and R. G. Brown, "Medical Evidence related to English population changes in the eighteenth century", *Population Studies*, ix, no. 2 (November 1955), 119.

committee of philanthropists and medical men who opened a small hospital at No. 10, Garden Street, off Withy Grove. Within three years a permanent hospital had been built on land called the Daub Hole Field, purchased from Sir Oswald Mosley (now Piccadilly Gardens). The rural situation of the new hospital, which started off with fifty beds, is made clear from the fact that in 1762 Marsden Kenyon was given leave to make a gate at the West end of the Infirmary Garden into his field.¹ On the new site the number of persons treated both as in-patients and out-patients increased rapidly. From the first, the governing committee (Weekly Board of Trustees) of the Infirmary laid what was, for eighteenth-century society, unusual stress on cleanliness: "Nurses were expected to clean their wards by seven in the morning in the winter and by eight in the summer."² The new building had contained some baths when originally opened in 1755, but in June 1779 the Trustees decided to erect "a complete set of cold, warm and vapour baths" which, it was thought, would be of great utility to the hospital and of "great public convenience to the inhabitants of Manchester". The scheme aroused such enthusiasm that the original plans were at once enlarged, and two years later, in the annual report for June 1781, the Trustees observed with pleasure that "the profits have greatly exceeded their expectations, whilst the public [of Manchester] at a very modest expense may have the use of one of the most complete and elegant sets of baths in the whole kingdom".³

Progress could be very patchy, however. When John Howard, the prison reformer, inspected the Infirmary in 1788, he made certain criticisms, as a result of which the floors of all wards were washed more frequently with soap and warm water, the walls whitewashed, and the doors and other woodwork coated with turpentine varnish annually. The legs and arms of every patient had henceforth to be washed with soap and water

¹ F. S. Stancliffe, "The birthplace of the Manchester Royal Infirmary", *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, vol. lxi for 1949 (1951), 35-42; W. Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital, 1752-1948* (1952), p. 18.

² Brockbank, *op. cit.* p. 10.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 18, 26-7.

immediately on admission. This was to "be often repeated unless ordered to the contrary".¹

The Infirmary naturally did not admit those suffering from contagious diseases as in-patients, but in 1781 the hospital authorities started a most interesting and successful scheme for treating, in their own homes, patients suffering from infectious diseases such as smallpox and measles, provided they lived within the towns of Manchester and Salford. In 1784 the Trustees accepted a proposal by the hospital's doctors and surgeons to inoculate poor persons for the smallpox and to attend them, if necessary, at their homes while they were in quarantine. By 1786 the number of home patients treated annually had reached a thousand,² and in the January of that year Dr. Thomas Henry noted that within the previous quarter of a century the mortality from smallpox in Manchester and Salford had sensibly diminished. He went on :

Perhaps there is no disease the medical treatment of which has been more improved than that of the small-pox ; and, the improvements, suiting the dispositions and convenience of the lower class of people, have been more frequently adopted than might otherwise have been expected.³

Inefficient midwifery caused many deaths in the eighteenth century and midwives, like nurses, were notorious for dissolute character and drunken habits. During the eighteenth century, however, members of the medical profession took an increasing interest in gynaecology.⁴ An important local manifestation of this movement occurred in Manchester in May 1790, when three members of the Infirmary's surgical staff and one physician, of whom the most famous was Charles White, met at the Bridge-water Arms, alongside the present Victoria Station, to discuss a scheme for delivering poor married women in their homes. Later they rented a private house in Salford for use as a maternity home. This was the ancestor of the present St. Mary's Hospital.

Dr. Thomas Percival, writing in 1773, twenty years after the foundation of the Infirmary, stated :

¹ Brockbank, *op. cit.* p. 31.

² *Ibid.* p. 28.

³ Henry, *op. cit.* iii, 167-8.

⁴ M. C. Buer, *Health, Wealth and Population* . . . (1926), pp. 139-48.

It is pleasing to observe, that, notwithstanding the enlargement of Manchester, there has been a sensible improvement in the healthiness and longevity of its inhabitants ; for the proportion of deaths is now considerably less than in 1757. But this is chiefly to be ascribed, as Dr. Price has justly observed, to the large accession of new settlers from the country. For as these usually come in the prime of life, they must raise the proportion of *inhabitants* to the *deaths*, and also of *births* and *weddings* to the *burials*, higher than they would otherwise be. However, exclusive of this consideration, there is good reason to believe that Manchester is more healthy now than formerly. The new streets are wide and spacious, the poor have larger and more commodious dwellings, and the increase of trade affords them better clothing and diet than they before enjoyed. I may add too, that the late improvements in medicine have been highly favourable to the preservation of life. The cool regimen in fevers, and in the small-pox ; the free admission of air ; attention to cleanliness ; and the general use of antiseptic remedies and diet, have certainly mitigated the violence, and lessened the mortality of some of the most dangerous and malignant distempers to which mankind are incident. The ulcerous sore throat, which prevailed here in the year 1770, is the only epidemic which has appeared in Manchester, with any fatal degree of violence, for many years. Miliary fevers, which were formerly frequent in this town and neighbourhood, now rarely occur ; and if I may judge from my own experience, the natural small-pox (for inoculation is not much practised here) carries off a smaller proportion of those who are attacked by it, than is commonly supposed. Puerperal diseases also decrease every year amongst us, by the judicious method of treating women in child-bed : and as nature is now more consulted in the management of infants, it is reasonable to suppose that this must be favourable to their health and preservation.¹

The Manchester doctors of this period also pioneered the cod-liver oil treatment for rickets. It is often assumed that because rickets (a softening of the legbones due to vitamin D deficiency) was called "the English disease" (*die englische Krankheit*), and because it appears to have been most prevalent in the early nineteenth century, that this malady originated in the new factory districts. But rickets was well-known in many parts of England in the seventeenth century and it is noteworthy that rickets was first successfully treated by the administration of cod-liver oil at Manchester Infirmary in the early 1770s. By the early 1780s between fifty and sixty gallons were prescribed annually.²

The very rapid rise in Manchester's population in the

¹ *The Works . . . of Thomas Percival, M.D.* (4 vols., 1807), iv, 5-7.

² Sir J. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food* (1957), pp. 149-60, 271-6 ; *The Works . . . of Thomas Percival, M.D.*, iv, edn. of 1807, 354-62.

1780s and 1790s appears to have resulted in increased local anxiety concerning contagious diseases. For example, typhus or 'putrid' fever, a louse-borne disease, had been a dangerous scourge throughout the eighteenth century. It was known by a variety of names, such as ship-fever, barrack fever and gaol fever, which indicates the frequency with which it broke out among persons massed together in close proximity. As might be expected, in the 1780s and 1790s, when the new cotton factories were being built and improvised in large numbers, frequent references are found to outbreaks of typhus in such establishments.¹ The best-known of these was the outbreak which began in Ashton-under-Lyne in 1795, but it had been preceded by an epidemic in Manchester in 1794. The Ashton outbreak spread rapidly to the Manchester area and on 7 January 1796 the Manchester Board of Health, including Dr. Thomas Percival and Dr. John Ferriar, was set up. Its promoters had great hopes that the Board's recommendations would be taken up and enforced by the Police Commissioners or by the magistrates in quarter session. Dr. Ferriar, for example, repeated his pioneer suggestion, made originally in 1791, that the common lodging houses in Manchester, notorious focal points of disease, should be licenced and supervised by the magistrates. The Board set up a temporary isolation hospital, the House of Recovery, in 1796, and by 1804 was able to erect a permanent hospital for infectious diseases, capable of holding a hundred patients. Yet in spite of their good intentions, the promoters of the Board never succeeded in "playing a considerable part in improving the sanitation of Manchester".² That was to be the task of the reformers of the nineteenth century.

Did Manchester's intellectual life between 1750 and 1800 match its economic growth? Unfortunately it is practically impossible to compare these two spheres of existence. Writing of conditions in the early nineteenth century Mr. Donald Read

¹ Anon, "The putrid fever at Robert Peel's Radcliffe Mill", *Notes and Queries*, cciii (Jan. 1958), 26-35; broadsheet in Chetham's Library reporting meeting of Manchester committee "for the relief of the sick poor afflicted with the epidemic fever", 12 December 1794.

² E. P. Hennock, "Urban sanitary reform a century before Chadwick?", *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. x, No. 1 (August 1957), 113-16.

has repeated the generally received opinion that "the intellectual life of Manchester was left in the hands of a very few. In things of the mind and spirit the town was very backward."¹ The question arises: backward compared with what? The purpose of the following pages is to suggest that Manchester's intellectual development in this period, all things considered, compared favourably with other provincial centres such as Leeds and Leicester. Let us examine more closely a few of the outward manifestations of Manchester's intellectual life in the eighteenth century.

Although the history of the newspaper in Manchester goes back to at least 1719,² when Roger Adams of Chester started his *Manchester News-Letter* (later the *Weekly Journal*) these early publications generally led obscure and chequered lives, with frequent changes of title,³ until the foundation of Joseph Harrop's *Manchester Mercury* on 3 March 1752. But it is important to remember that when Harrop (1727-1804), a young man of twenty-five, brought out the first number of the *Mercury* there were already two rival publications, *Whitworth's Manchester Magazine*, which had been in existence under various names since 1730, and the resurrected *Weekly Journal* (later known as the *Manchester Journal*), the first number of which was issued by Orion Adams in the January of 1752. The *Journal* does not

¹ Peterloo (1958), p. 3. Mr. L. S. Marshall, *The Development of Public Opinion in Manchester, 1780-1820* (Syracuse, 1946) must be used with caution. Even if it were admitted that Manchester may have been culturally under-developed in 1800, extenuating circumstances might be pleaded—the rapid growth of the new industrial community and the defective education of some, but not all, of the new men who were rising to the top.

² D. Read, "Manchester News-Letter, a discovery at Oxford", *Manchester Guardian* (31 August 1956). See also *Manchester Review*, viii (Winter, 1957-8), 124.

³ G. A. Cranfield, *A handlist of English Provincial Newspapers and Periodicals, 1700-1760*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society, monograph no. 2 (1952), pp. 12-14; R. C. Jarvis, "The Rebellion of 1745 . . .", *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, xlv (1941-2), 124-8; xlvii (1943-4), 47-50; G. R. Axon, "Roger and Orion Adams, printers", *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, xxxix (1921), pp. 108-24; *Collectanea relating to Manchester and its Neighbourhood* . . . , ii, ed. J. Harland (Chetham Soc., lxxii, (1868), 102-20; *Manchester Mercury* 24 January 1804 (obituary of Harrop); F. Leary, "History of the Manchester Periodical Press" (MS., c. 1897, Manchester Reference Library).

seem to have lasted the year out, yet when Whitworth's newspaper (by then called *Manchester Advertiser*) came to an unprofitable end with issue no. 3414 on 25 March 1760,¹ Joseph Harrop's *Mercury* held the field alone for a short time only. In June 1762 the first number of the *Manchester Chronicle or Anderton's Universal Advertiser* appeared, and although it seems to have been short-lived, nevertheless John Prescott was confident enough to start Prescott's *Manchester Journal* less than ten years later, on 23 March 1771. This lasted until at least 1774.² By 1800 three weekly newspapers of respectable solidity were in circulation; the *Mercury*, Wheeler's *Manchester Chronicle*, founded in 1781, and Cowdroy's *Manchester Gazette*, established in 1795.³ As in the general population and the business world, so it was with the newspapers: many were born but few lived long.

Closely allied to the rise of the newspaper was the growth of the postal service, through which an increasing number of newspapers were circulated. Until 1793 the establishment of the Manchester post office remained absurdly small. At the beginning of that year all postal services in Manchester were performed by an old woman, Mrs. Sarah Willatt, who held the office of postmaster, assisted by her daughter and a solitary letter carrier. The Manchester Post Office was the most profitable in the kingdom, producing £15,000 a year. Then, in April 1793, the old post-mistress was pensioned off on £120 a year. James Harrop, the son of the printer of the *Mercury*, was appointed in her stead and allowed a staff of four clerks and six letter carriers. A local penny post came into operation in July 1793 and functioned over an ever-increasing area around the town until the introduction of the general penny post in 1840.⁴

¹ Harland, *op. cit.* p. 106. A second *Manchester Journal* appeared between 1754 and 1756 (Cranfield, *op. cit.* p. 14).

² Harland, *op. cit.* p. 109. Harland complained: "Nothing is more difficult to trace than the deaths of newspapers."

³ *Ibid.* pp. 110-14.

⁴ C. Roeder, "Beginnings of the Manchester Post-Office", *Trans. Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, xxii, pp. 28-34, 39-42; K. Ellis, *The Post Office in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 32, 99; Howard Robinson, *The British Post Office* (1948), p. 215. It is quite wrong to imagine that there was no penny post until 1840. There were dozens of local penny posts in operation before Rowland Hill's reform.

The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, founded early in 1781, of which Benjamin Franklin was an honorary member, arose quite naturally out of informal meetings for discussion held at Dr. Thomas Percival's house on the corner of King Street and Cross Street. One of the first joint secretaries of the Society was Dr. Thomas ("Magnesia") Henry (1734-1816), visiting apothecary to the Infirmary and a successful manufacturing chemist.¹ In addition to furthering scientific education in the Manchester area, he lectured and published works on chemistry, dyeing and calico printing. Other honorary members of the Society included Dr. Erasmus Darwin, Dr. Joseph Priestley, the French chemist Lavoisier (some of whose works Henry translated) and the Italian Volta. Another of the founder members was Dr. Thomas Barnes, who later became principal of the Manchester Academy on its formation in 1785-6. The subjects discussed were extremely varied—social improvement, political economy, many aspects of the cotton and woollen trades, metaphysics and medicine. In 1793 Robert Owen, the "father of British socialism", became a member, followed in 1794 by John Dalton, the propounder of the atomic theory.²

In the early 1790s public opinion in Manchester became seriously divided on the subject of political reform and the French Revolution. The controversies of these years have recently been discussed by Miss Pauline Handforth and Mrs. F. Knight, with particular reference to the career of the Radical Thomas Walker and the pro-French newspaper, the *Manchester Herald* (1792-3).³ The split even had echoes in the Literary and Philosophical Society's proceedings in 1791, when Samuel Jackson, a noted sympathizer with what was happening in France, moved a resolution expressing the Society's sympathy with Dr. Priestley on the losses he had sustained from the sacking

¹ A. and N. Clow, *The Chemical Revolution* (1952), p. 189.

² W. H. Brindley, "The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society", *Journal of the Royal Institute of Chemistry* (February 1955), pp. 62-9; E. M. Fraser, "Robert Owen in Manchester, 1788-1800", *Mem. and Proc., Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, lxxxii (1937-8), 35-40.

³ Pauline Handforth, "Manchester Radical politics, 1789-1794", *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.* lxxvi (1956), 87-106; F. Knight, *The Strange Case of Thomas Walker* (1957).

of his house by the Birmingham mob on 14 July. The resolution was not carried, but in the following year, 1792, the reformers—headed by Joseph Priestley, jun., the doctor's son, and Thomas Cooper, the Radical who later became a prosperous lawyer and slave-owner in the U.S.A.—showed their independence by forming the Manchester Reading Society or the “Jacobin Library”, as it was nicknamed.¹

There were also many flourishing schools, both secular and Sunday,² in Manchester by 1800, and the town was frequently visited by itinerant lecturers, mainly on scientific subjects. In addition the Manchester College of Arts and Sciences had been established in 1783, although it did not fulfil the hopes of its founders.³ The stirrings and controversies of the 1780s and the 1790s indicate that Manchester had crossed the threshold of intellectual maturity.

¹ W. E. A. Axon, *Handbook of the Public Libraries of Manchester and Salford* (1877), pp. 61-2.

² For the Sunday schools, see A. P. Wadsworth, “The first Manchester Sunday Schools”, *BULL. JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, xxxiii (1950-1), 299-326.

³ H. McLachlan, *Warrington Academy: its history and influence* (Chetham Soc., cvii (N.S., 1943), 123-4. My colleagues, Messrs. A. E. Musson and Eric Robinson, intend in the near future to publish a study of educational growth in Manchester during this period.

THE KING AND THE MONKS IN THE TENTH-CENTURY REFORMATION¹

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IT is generally agreed by scholars that monasticism was virtually, if not entirely, extinct in England by the mid-tenth century, and that the Vikings did it. The first proposition has the entire support of the contemporary narrative sources—which are scanty but authoritative—but the second has not. The best evidence is provided by one of the great men of the Benedictine revival in King Edgar's reign, St. Æthelwold. He almost certainly wrote the supplement to, and interpretation of, the Rule of St. Benedict, which was imposed on the English monks in a synod at Winchester about the year 970, and is generally known as the *Regularis Concordia*.² In it he states flatly that monasticism had in the past been utterly ruined by *saecularium prioratus*, secular domination.³ We can get some idea of what he meant partly from the *Concordia* itself, partly from an anonymous vernacular account of the restoration of the monasteries, which there is no reason to doubt is by Æthelwold himself.⁴ In this vernacular account he complains bitterly about the gift of church estates to kinsfolk by abbesses—the vernacular account was written for some nuns—and of grants of land made to sweeten the great men of the neighbourhood. Obviously this is part of what he meant by *saecularium*

¹ I have to thank Mr. R. H. C. Davis and Mr. P. H. Sawyer for their suggestions and criticisms. I have also to thank the abbot and community of Downside for allowing me to use their magnificent collection of books on monastic history.

² Ed. Dom Thomas Symons, London, 1953.

³ Ibid. p. 7.

⁴ O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft*, iii (Rolls Series), 432-44. A translation is given by Dr. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, i (London, 1955), 846, from which I have quoted throughout. The importance of this document has been obscured by the belief that it was neither authentic nor by Æthelwold. Dr. Whitelock has shown that this belief is unfounded, loc. cit.

prioratus, and a more particular study of the *Concordia* will add other important details. For the moment, however, it is enough to notice that it is the malpractices of the local magnates and their families which he thought threatened the newly revived monasteries. In the vernacular account Æthelwold is mainly thinking of the future, but it is possible to infer that this menace was not new, and that it had ruined the monasticism of an earlier day. He says explicitly that on Edgar's succession Glastonbury was the only true monastery in England, and the only place where monks could be found; and towards the end of the account he again deprecates the "robbery of evil men", which together with the connivance of negligent kings had, in his opinion, "impaired the observance of this holy rule in former times". Thus St. Æthelwold insists that monasticism had altogether fallen before the revival of Glastonbury by St. Dunstan in Edmund's reign, and that the reasons were mainly local and English. The Vikings are nowhere mentioned. When it is remembered that Æthelwold was born in the time of Edward the Elder, and had had considerable experience in reviving monasteries in eastern England, where some monastic buildings had certainly been burnt down,¹ this silence is significant. It looks to me as if Æthelwold did not think of the ruin of monasticism in terms of the physical damage to persons and buildings; what he thought was the prime factor, was the behaviour of the English magnates who had used their power to get control over ecclesiastical endowments. In the *Concordia*, Æthelwold prescribes the remedy for *saecularium prioratus*; recourse to royal *dominium* only "with great expectations for the defence of the holy places and increase of ecclesiastical possessions".² It seems that at first monks were forbidden even to accept estates from men

¹ Æthelwold's first foundation Abingdon had been destroyed by the Vikings. *De Abbatibus Abbendonie, Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii (Rolls Series, London 1858), 277-8: "Ethelwoldus monachus Glestoniae . . . suscipiens abbatiam Abbendonie invenit ibidem monasterium . . . dirutum a paganis omnino et destructum invenit."

² Op. cit. p. 7: "Saecularium vero prioratum, ne ad magni ruinam detrimenti uti olim acciderat miserabiliter deveniret, magna animadversione atque anathemate suscipi coenobiis sacris sapienter prohibentes, regis tantummodo ac reginae dominium ad sacri loci munimen et ad ecclesiasticae possessionis augmentum voto semper efflagitare optabili prudentissime iusserunt."

other than the king. It will be interesting then to follow up these suggestions of Æthelwold, and look at the early history of the revival from the point of view of the alliance of king and monks to defeat *saecularium prioratus*.¹

It is most convenient to begin by showing that Æthelwold was not exaggerating the importance of royal *dominium* in the defence of monasticism, and this can be done most easily by drawing attention to the quite vital part played by King Edgar himself in the monastic revival. This part is illuminated by a mere recounting of the history of the revival before Edgar's accession in 959 and the decisive synod of 964.

The first evidence of the coming of the new monasticism to England is the appearance of Ælfheah, "priest and monk", as witness to a charter of 929.² The same Ælfheah was made bishop of Winchester in 934, by King Æthelstan; he was a relative of Dunstan.³ In 935, or very soon afterwards, he tonsured Dunstan and Æthelwold, although only with royal permission, as Ælfric's life of Æthelwold explicitly points out.⁴ Thus King Æthelstan had given the chief West Saxon see to a monk in 934, but no attempt was made, or permitted to be made, to reform the chief West Saxon monastery, Glastonbury, until the time of Æthelstan's successor, Edmund. Even then the king did not agree easily to the reform. About the year 940, Dunstan had fallen into disgrace, and whilst on his way to exile, was recalled, restored to favour, and given Glastonbury to rule

¹ The modern study of the revival has concentrated mainly on the liturgical and cultural remains. It is admirably summed up in E. S. Duckett, *St. Dunstan of Canterbury* (London, 1955). For an account of the Benedictine reformation which stresses the interpenetration of the political and spiritual factors, it is still necessary to turn to Stubbs's introduction to his volume in the Rolls Series, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*.

² W. de Gray Birch, *C[artularium] S[axonicum]* (London, 1885-93), no. 641.

³ It is not known where Ælfheah got his monastic ideals from. It is likely enough from continental sources through the court of Æthelstan. In 928 an ambassador from Henry the Fowler came to King Æthelstan, and it was to this embassy that Levison traced the transmission of some of the details of the legend of St. Ursula, and her uncertain number of virgin companions, from England to Cologne, *Bönnener-Jahrbücher*, cxxxii (1927), 71. Why should not knowledge of the Lotharingian and Cluny reforms have been similarly transmitted to the Anglo-Saxon court?

⁴ *Vita Æthelwoldi*, *Chron. Monast. Abingdon*, ii. 256.

and reform. According to the first *Life* of Dunstan, Edmund had a miraculous escape from death whilst hunting, which he attributed to a promise to recall Dunstan.¹ Whether we call this conversion miraculous, providential, merely psychological, or all three, something very odd must have happened. Nothing else in Edmund's conduct gives the slightest indication of his sympathy for monasticism. In 944, after the appointment of Dunstan to Glastonbury, he gave the lands of the abbey of Bath to a group of clerks from the monastery of St. Bertin, who were refugees from the reforms of Gerard of Brogne.² Even at Glastonbury, Dunstan had to go about the work of reform slowly, since his companion there, Æthelwold, wished to go overseas to find "a more perfect monastic discipline".³ He was only dissuaded by the grant, of a portion only, of the lands of an obscure *monasterium* at Abingdon, to build an abbey and fashion a community after his own mind.⁴ By this time Edmund had been succeeded by his brother Eadred, who, unlike Edmund, had the greatest confidence in Dunstan, made him one of his principal advisers,⁵ and kept part of his treasure at Glastonbury. Even so the monastic discipline there was not perfect, and Æthelwold was only sparingly endowed for his new enterprise.

¹ *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, pp. 23-5.

² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St. Bertin*, ed. M. Guérard (1840), p. 145.

³ *Vita Æthelwoldi*, p. 257.

⁴ F. M. Stenton, *Early History of Abingdon* (Reading, 1913), pp. 50-1.

⁵ Dr. Whitelock, *EHD.*, p. 46, thinks that the *Vita Dunstani*'s claim that Dunstan occupied a specially important place in Eadred's counsels exaggerated. But the *Vita*, in my opinion, gives details of what its claim was based on which seem entirely credible. There can be little doubt that Dunstan refused a bishopric, *Memorials*, p. 29. Eadred also entrusted some of his royal treasures to Dunstan's safe-keeping. These treasures were the royal landbooks, loc. cit., and when Eadred wished to make his will, he sent for them, since the title-deeds had, of course, to go with the estates in question, *ibid.* p. 31. The *Vita* says: "misit (Eadred) circumquaque ad congregandas facultates suas". Dr. Whitelock, *EHD.* p. 829, translates this passage: "he sent on all sides to collect his goods."

I do not think that *facultas* is ever used to mean goods in so wide a sense, v. Niermayer, *Lexicon* s.v.: in English texts it means landbooks, charters. Bede uses the word in this sense, *H.E.* iv, c. 13, and it occurs as a key word in latin charters from the earliest times, v. CS 35. Obviously then an important section of the royal archives was entrusted to Dunstan. There is nothing incredible in this, and since it suggests that Dunstan was high in Eadred's confidence, I see no reason for rejecting the *Vita*'s claims for Dunstan's influence.

In 955, when Eadred died leaving two nephews, Eadwig and Edgar, to succeed in turn, the monastic revival had achieved only the partial reform of Glastonbury and the first stages of the revival of Abingdon. Under the new king, Eadwig, Dunstan again fell into disfavour, and soon after Eadwig's coronation, he went into exile in a reformed Lotharingian monastery, St. Peter's, Ghent.¹

It would be convenient if we could reduce the issue between Dunstan and Eadwig to a difference of opinion about monastic reform, but I do not think we can. The *Cartularium Saxonicum* contains some sixty charters dated 956. No other single year in Anglo-Saxon history can show such a profusion of landbooks, such a waste of the royal demesne we might say. The whole of Edgar's reign produced less than sixty surviving charters with lay-grantees. For some reason Eadwig found it necessary, in 956, to buy support by these lavish grants of lands and privileges, but in spite of his generosity, England north of the Thames—the sources call it Mercia—repudiated its allegiance to him in 957, and chose his brother, Edgar, as king. So far as the sources allow us to see, Eadwig was powerless to resist, and he had to remain content with the allegiance of the West Saxons. Thus it is obvious that early in his reign Eadwig had lost the confidence of his magnates, and this may have had something to do with Dunstan's disgrace. Equally obviously this crisis could not have been caused by the quarrel with Dunstan alone, nor is it likely that monasticism played much part in it.

The monastic party, so far as we can identify them, counted only Abbot Dunstan and Archbishop Oda amongst the great men.² Æthelwold was only abbot of a small, incomplete monastery. The third saintly monk of the revival, Oswald, was still a monk at Fleury; neither Æthelwold nor Oswald

¹ *Memorials*, pp. 34 and 59.

² Oda became archbishop of Canterbury in 942. We know that at some point in his life he visited Fleury and received the tonsure, although he can never have been actually cloistered. *Vita Oswaldi, H[istorians of the] C[hurch of] Y[ork]*, ed. J. Raine (Rolls Series, i, London, 1879), 413 and v. R. R. Darlington, *English Historical Review* (1936), p. 387. It is most probable that Oda visited Fleury as bishop of Ramsbury, since he travelled to those parts in 936, after his consecration as bishop, but before his translation to Canterbury.

can have mattered much in 957. It is possible that some of the great magnates were beginning to be interested, and Ealdorman Æthelwine and Byrhtnoth, who were later great benefactors of the monks, were amongst Edgar's supporters in 957. But so too was Ealdorman Ælfhere of Mercia, who was later the bitterest of the monks' opponents. Nor, on the other hand, is it quite certain that Eadwig was altogether opposed to reform. It is usually supposed that his opposition to the monks was absolute, and that immediately after sending Dunstan into exile, he seized the estates of Abingdon as well as Glastonbury.¹ The evidence, however, is rather against this. Charters, not obviously forged, were granted to Abingdon by Eadwig in 956. I cannot claim to have investigated the charters in question minutely—it is necessary to take all the "reform charters" and study them as a group if secure judgements are to be made—but it seems *a priori* unplausible that Abingdon forgers would attribute their fabrications to Eadwig in view of his reputation in later monastic tradition. Æthelwold, as the witness-lists of the charters prove, remained faithful to Eadwig until his death in 959. We shall probably never know, then, the reasons for Eadwig's unpopularity with his magnates, but it is improbable that monkery had much to do with it.

If the events of Eadwig's reign throw little light on the relations of crown and monks, there can be no doubt that the monastic party, such as it was, was very much on Edgar's side. Dunstan was immediately summoned back to Mercia in 957 and made bishop of Worcester and London. Archbishop Oda remained with Eadwig, but he did not scruple to consecrate Dunstan at Edgar's request; Eadwig, apparently, could do nothing to stop him. Oda summoned his nephew, Oswald, back from Fleury, but when Oswald returned he found his uncle dead. He wasted no time in going to Eadwig's court, but went north instead, where Dunstan took him up and secured his accession to Worcester in 960 or 961.² In 959 Eadwig conveniently died and Edgar succeeded to the whole kingdom: with his accession the monks came to power.

¹ M. D. Knowles, *Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 39.

² *HCY*, i. 420.

Let us note that Dunstan first became important under Eadred, who had known him since childhood. Eadred was much influenced by his mother, who favoured Dunstan and Æthelwold highly. But Eadred was lukewarm in the cause of reform compared with his nephew, Edgar; Edgar had not merely grown up with the monks, he had been brought up by them. The preamble to the *Concordia* speaks of Edgar "being diligently admonished in the royal way of the catholic faith by a certain abbot".¹ In spite of the great weight which must be attached to the opinion of the late Edmund Bishop, his suggestion that this abbot was Dunstan cannot be accepted.² Æthelwold must be meant, since the first Life of St. Oswald says "that the same king [Edgar] was instructed in the knowledge of the true king by Æthelwold".³ When was this instruction given? Presumably before Edgar's accession to Mercia in 957, and the *Concordia* seems to imply that it was after 954 and the foundation of Abingdon, since it says that the instruction was given by "a certain abbot". I think Æthelwold means he was an abbot when he had Edgar in his charge, since, when he wrote the *Concordia*, he had been bishop of Winchester for some years. Why should he hark back to his earlier office unless he means us to understand that he taught Edgar during his time as abbot of Abingdon? Further Æthelwold, in the vernacular account of the founding of the monasteries, remarks that when Edgar was still an *ætheling*, he stayed at Abingdon and promised to help Æthelwold complete the monastic buildings. It looks very much as though Edgar came into Æthelwold's care after the latter's departure from Glastonbury, but before his own accession. Since Æthelwold became abbot of Abingdon only a few months before Eadred's death, it looks as though Edgar was in his care in the crucial early months of Eadwig's reign, which is interesting. This early schooling must in part explain Edgar's enthusiasm for monastic reform. It must also explain why Æthelwold, rather than Dunstan, took the lead in the revival from now on. The *Vita Oswaldi* tells us that Æthelwold was the king's principal counsellor,⁴ and we might guess this from the way we meet Æthelwold at every point in the revival. The first expulsion of

¹ Op. cit. p. 1. ² Ibid. p. 1, n. 3. ³ HCY. i. 426. ⁴ Ibid. p. 427.

clerks to make way for monks was at Æthelwold's cathedral of Winchester, and many of the greatest of the earliest monasteries were founded under his ægis. Dr. Knowles has conveniently divided the early monastic plantations into spheres of influence associated with each of the three monastic saints. The feeble group associated with Dunstan is as striking as the great names in Æthelwold's connection. Abingdon, Peterborough, Ely, Thorney, Crowland, the two Winchester monasteries, and probably St. Albans, are the most famous. This can, no doubt, be partly explained by Æthelwold's famous energy, but energy alone cannot contrive great endowments, something must be allowed for privileged access and royal favour.

Æthelwold was no mere court prelate, of course. He stands at the heart of the intellectual revival brought about by the new monasticism, and expressed most fully partly in the latin, but mainly in the vernacular writings produced in the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut. The *Concordia* was almost certainly his work. Two short sections are said to have been added by Dunstan;¹ the inference seems to be that he had little to do with the rest. Æthelwold also probably wrote the vernacular account of the founding of the monasteries. This is associated with a vernacular version of the Rule of St. Benedict, which is now generally regarded as his work. A careful investigation of the diplomatic of late Old English documents, other than writs, would certainly disclose developments of some interest, which seem to arise at Abingdon and Winchester in Æthelwold's day. It is even possible that the revival of Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may have some connection with Æthelwold. These last two points are as yet mere conjectures, but the most famous name in the literary revival is that of Abbot Ælfric, and he was beyond question a pupil of Æthelwold.² This means we may bring the homilist Wulfstan into the circle too.³

¹ Op. cit. p. 4.

² *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. J. Zupitza (Berlin, 1880), I: "sicut didicimus in scola Æþelwoldi", and cf. Thorpe, *Homilies*, i. 1: "ego Ælfricus, alumnus Adelwoldi".

³ D. Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), p. 345; D. Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi* (London, 1952), pp. 25 ff.; J. Ure, *The Benedictine Office* (Edinburgh, 1957), 34-46.

It is, moreover, worth pointing out that of the three saints connected with the revival, Dunstan can have had least experience of life in a reformed community. Oswald spent some years as a monk at Fleury, and Æthelwold built up and ruled over a monastery at Abingdon for nearly ten years, before he became bishop of Winchester. Dunstan began, and ended, his monastic life as abbot of the imperfectly reformed abbey of Glastonbury. He belongs rather with the great clerical statesmen such as Alfheah and Oda, the men who by their influence at court and their reputation for sanctity, prepared the way for the experienced monks, Oswald and Æthelwold, who actually, I believe, effected the revival. It is not, then, surprising that various recensions of the *Chronicle* merely note the death of Dunstan "archbishop" in 988, but two of them, *D* and *E*, under 984, record the death of Æthelwold "the father of the monks". The trend of recent studies has confirmed the judgement made by Sir Frank Stenton many years ago: "It was from Abingdon rather than Glastonbury that the new monasticism of the tenth century derived its distinctive features."¹

Some apology is required for recounting so much familiar information at such length, but my purpose must be my excuse. At every point it has been apparent that the course of the revival hung on the king's nod, and its progress was entirely dependent on influence at court. Even when the scanty evidence of the history of the personalities involved in the early history of the revival is examined, it is again a story of favourably or unfavourably disposed kings, royal friendship and enmity. This is even more apparent when we turn to Edgar's reign proper.

Very little was done for the revival of monasticism in the early years of the reign beyond the promotion of Dunstan to Canterbury, Oswald to Worcester and Æthelwold to Winchester, and the completion of Abingdon with the King's help.² Probably the monks were not yet ready. Abingdon had only been founded in 954; Glastonbury was still not perfect in the same year, and the only other monastery which could offer a supply of trained and experienced monks was a tiny community at Westbury-on-Trim founded by Oswald, little, if at all, earlier

¹ *EHA*. p. 7.

² *EHD*. p. 847.

than 962. It is not surprising, then, that little was done to widen the scope of the reform until 964.

In 964 the minds of both Æthelwold and Oswald were troubled. Æthelwold's formidable conscience was disturbed by the "lascivious clerks" established in his cathedral church. Oswald was likewise troubled for the future of his monastery at Westbury-on-Trim. This community was settled on part of his cathedral endowment,¹ which could be resumed by a successor less favourably disposed to monasticism. Oswald then went to his colleagues Æthelwold and Dunstan for advice.² Then, since Æthelwold was the king's chief adviser, he was deputed to approach the king. The result was a great synod held at Easter, 964, probably at Winchester,³ which decided on a general policy of resuming ecclesiastical endowments held by "clerks" and granting them out to monks. Æthelwold had already begun the eviction of the clerks from his cathedral at Winchester, and Oswald plainly wanted to do the same at Worcester. Both Oswald and Æthelwold got their way, and by the end of 964, Winchester and Worcester cathedrals had been forcibly converted to monasticism. Winchester New Minster, Chertsey, Milton Abbas⁴ followed soon after, and the principal endowments in southern and midland England were at the disposal of the monks whenever they should be ready to use them. Thus by 964 the reform was launched; the monks had come to power. One can very nearly give the Benedictine revival a precise date and place of origin: Easter, 964, and a royal synod, probably held at Winchester.

The debt the new monks owed to the royal *dominium* of church matters and church lands could hardly be more obvious. But what exactly was the *saecularium prioratus* it had to overcome, and why was Æthelwold, and not he alone, so afraid of it? The narrative sources are of little help here, and we must turn to a few charters, some of them dubious concoctions—which, however, we may control in various ways—if we are to find out.

¹ HCY. i. 424.

² Loc. cit.

³ HCY. i. 426-7. I have discussed the siting of this synod, and the relation of the account of its origin given in the *Vita Oswaldi* to that given by the *Vita Æthelwoldi*, J.E.H. ix (1958), 167, n. 4.

⁴ Chronicle, ÆE, s.a. 964.

The preamble of the Oswaldslow Charter, CS 1135,¹ says that Oswald, in 964, gave the clerks he found sitting in his cathedral a choice between renouncing their womenfolk or their prebends²; the Ramsey Chronicle says much the same.³ There can be little doubt that these passages accurately record an episode in the history of Worcester Cathedral. The narrative sources refer frequently to the lascivious and unchaste clerks whom the monks replaced. CS 1135 calls the sitting clerks of Worcester "degraded and lascivious", but it also reveals that they were not profligates, but married men. At any rate they were given a choice between their prebends and their wives. The point is important, and the evidence CS 1135 contributes to the problem of the "lascivious clerks" of the highest value. The sitting clerks were respectable enough after the fashion of their day. Indeed we could hardly explain the continued pious donations of land and property given to the unreformed communities right up to the eve of the revival if they were not. Everything suggests that CS 1135 is right; the monks invaded communities composed at least partly of married clerks. If this was so we should expect that the reform meant some changes in the tenurial practices of the revived monasteries. Obviously communities composed of married men would require rather different economic arrangements from a community of celibates with no wives and children to provide for. The evidence of these new tenurial arrangements, although scanty, is significant.

A late Worcester source, an inquest of 1093, which was based on earlier documents, claimed that, before the conversion of Worcester, the clerks had held the endowment in individual prebends, *quasi propria*, and that the conversion of Worcester meant that each clerk gave up what he had formerly regarded as his

¹ I have defended the authenticity of this passage, *J.E.H.*, ix (1958), 159-69 and discussed the charter in general, *BULLETIN JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, xli (1958-9), 54-80.

² "Ego (Eadgarus) confirmo . . . ut jam amplius non sit fas neque jus clericis reclamandi quicquam inde quippe qui magis elegerunt cum sui ordinis periculo et ecclesiastici beneficii dispendio suis uxoribus adherere quam deo caste et canonice servire."

³ *Chronicon Abbatie Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray (Rolls Series, London, 1886), pp. 41 and 19.

own to a common fund. In other words conversion at Worcester entailed the clubbing together of a number of individual prebends, the communalization of the endowment. The Ramsey Chronicle says much the same thing.¹ Both these are late sources depending on earlier material of uncertain character and provenance but both to my mind speak the truth. A charter of Bishop Coenwald of Worcester, dated 957, granted an estate belonging to the church of Worcester to Behstan "priest of the same monastery".² Behstan was even allowed to nominate an heir for the estate—it was to stay in his family for the lifetime of four members before it reverted to Worcester cathedral. This looks very like a grant *quasi propria* to a member of the cathedral community. Even after the conversion of Worcester, tradition was still strong enough to persuade, or force, Oswald to grant an estate for three lives to Wynsige the first prior.³ There is thus no reason to doubt that the conversion of Worcester involved a revolution in the manner of holding the cathedral property. Whilst it happens that here, as in so many dark places in Anglo-Saxon history, Worcester offers more evidence than anywhere else, it is not likely that it was unique in the character of its conversion.

There is some evidence that property-holding by men called monks *quasi propria* was taken for granted in pre-Viking England. In 805, Archbishop Æthelheard of Canterbury gave an estate to his cathedral community, and recorded the gift in a charter of which an authentic copy survives, CS 319. He states specifically: "ut omne bonum quod in illa terra lucrificetur fratres sibi singulariter ad mensam suam habeant et ad alteram necessitatem faciant qua illis bona et spontanea voluntate maxime utile videatur." Thus at Christ Church Canterbury, in 805, the members of the community had their own tables to which the profits of at least some part of the endowment were assigned.

¹ *Chronicon Abbatie Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray (Rolls Series, London, 1886), p. 20. Although this chronicle was put together after the Conquest, it must have had earlier and reliable sources, since it gets a surprising number of things right. It is the only narrative source which accurately describes the enlarging of Worcester cathedral by St. Oswald for instance.

² CS 993.

³ J. M. K[emble], *C[odex] D[iplomaticus]* (London, 1839-48), no. 616.

In 813 Archbishop Wulfred undertook a reform of the Canterbury cathedral community, and left a memorial of his work in an important charter, CS 342. The members of the community are allowed to hold houses individually, and even to bequeath them to whom they liked, provided they left them to men who were at least potential members of the community. The charter reads: "Ego Wlfredus . . . dabo et concedo familia Christi habere et perfruere domos . . . jure perpetuo hereditatis . . . cuicunque relinquere vel donare voluerint unusquisque liberam habeant facultatem in eodem monasterio donandi sed nec alicui foras extra congregationi. . . ." Archbishop Wulfred, however, abolished the individual tables, since he required the members of the community to eat in a common refectory. He also required them to sleep in a common dormitory and altogether "observe the life of monastic discipline according to the *Rule (juxta regulam)*". In an earlier discussion of this charter¹ I suggested, following Levison, that *regula* without qualification at this time meant the rule of St. Benedict. This is not so. Mr. Bullough has pointed out² that "until the Synod of Aachen in 817 this would imply obedience to a rule other than or not exclusively that of St. Benedict". The arrangements prescribed by Archbishop Wulfred are hardly compatible with St. Benedict's rule in any case, but there is no doubt that Archbishop Wulfred, and not only he, thought that the members of the Canterbury community living "regularly" were monks. Not only does he call this life the regular life of monastic discipline, but twenty years later a member of this community left just such a will as the archbishop prescribed, CS 402. The man's name was Werhard. He left the community numerous estates: he was obviously a man of family and property, and this, no doubt, is why his will has been preserved. He also gave back "all the lands inside and outside Kent which I have hitherto held by the gift of the archbishop and with the cognizance of the aforesaid family of Christ". The disposition of these lands is left to the discretion of the archbishop. Thus what a later age would have called prebends were attached to the Canterbury houses. What is particularly interesting is that Werhard refers

¹ *J.E.H.* ix. 171.

² *Ibid.* p. 236.

to his bretheren as his "brother monks" and the community as "monachi ecclesie Christi". Of course by later Benedictine standards, Werhard was hardly worthy of the name of monk at all—one suspects that men of St. Dunstan's generation would have called him ugly names. What matters here, however, is what constituted monasticism in the early ninth century. We have examined evidence from one recently reformed community only, but a contemporary, Alcuin, seems to mean by monk, in his correspondence, much what Wulfred or Werhard meant.¹ In any case it is becoming apparent that we have assumed a too early and too easy diffusion of the Rule of St. Benedict in the past. Dom Hallinger has argued that even Gregory the Great was ignorant of the Rule,² and Dom Ferrari has pointed out that "there is no evidence of a monastery in Rome which employed *exclusively* the rule of St. Benedict much before the tenth century".³ Obviously then it is wrong to equate pre-Viking English monasticism with the maintenance of strict Benedictine standards, and we must be prepared to find that early monks were by no means so strict on the matter of holding property as later monks thought proper.

We may also cite in this connection some later literary evidence, and some evidence from parallel developments in Francia. The *Regularis Concordia* forbade abbots and abbesses from making wills, and monks and nuns are instructed to ignore their terms if wills were made.⁴ This looks very like an attempt to protect a corporate endowment against attempts by the most powerful single member of the community to treat any part of the monastery's property *quasi propria*. A generation later Abbot Ælfric in his pastoral letter, speaks of the duty of monks: "þe libbað æfter regole unden heora abbode 7 ealle heora ðingc him ðoð gemæne swa him diht se abbod" (who live according to the *Rule* under their abbot, and have all their

¹ *Epistolae*, M.G.H. Epistolarum, iv, no. 284, for instance, where it is obvious that contemporary monks had their own houses. Cf. *Ep.* no. 21.

² "Papst Gregor der Grosse und der hl. Benedikt", *Studia Anselmiana*, xlii (1957), 269-77.

³ *Early Roman Monasteries*, *Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, xxiii (Vatican, 1957), quoted from Mr. Bullough's review, *J.E.H.* ix. 236.

⁴ *Op cit.* p. 69.

goods in common as the abbot directs them).¹ There is also an important passage in Ælfric's homily on the deposition of St. Martin: "He filled that monastery [of Tours] with good-living men, that is to say with eighty monks who steadfastly obeyed him, and they had all their property in common—nor had they anything separately."² It is significant that Ælfric, in describing the good-living monk, should single out community of property as a distinguishing mark; later in the same homily he thinks it worth while pointing out that these same model monks sat together for meals.

I shall now cite what seems to me decisive evidence from the Continent. The force of this evidence will, however, depend on whether the student is inclined to think that England in the tenth century was *sui generis*, or whether, as some of us now incline to think, there was much in common between England and Francia in the tenth century, especially in fundamental institutions and tenurial notions. Certainly the importance for the English Benedictine reform of the contemporary Continental reform movement cannot be denied. We have already seen that Archbishop Oda had been tonsured at reformed Fleury, where he later sent his nephew and protégé. Æthelwold was about to withdraw to a Continental monastery, when he was made abbot of Abingdon; we may guess this was Fleury since he later sent his disciple, Osgar, to Fleury for training,³ and Abingdon seems to have got its first copy of the *Rule* of St. Benedict from Fleury.⁴ Now Fleury was reformed by St. Odo of Cluny about 930. The success of the reform, aided perhaps by the pretensions of Fleury to hold some dubious bones of St. Benedict, made the name of Cluny. The nature of this reform is described in some detail by Odo's biographer, John of Salerno. It is plain that conditions at Fleury on the eve of its conversion were

¹ B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ii. 372. The use of the key-words in the sense I have taken them is found elsewhere in Ælfric's works, *Homilies*, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1843), i. 316: "ne heora nan næfde synderlice æhta, ac him eallum wæs gemæna heora ðing."

² *Homilies*, ii. 506.

³ *Vita Æthelwoldi*, p. 259.

⁴ *De Abbatibus Abbendonae*, p. 278: "Fecit etiam venire regulam Sancti Benedicti a Floriaco monasterio."

rather like those at Worcester in 964. John of Salerno says explicitly : “ *res monasterii nequaquam in commune possederant, sed pro posse et libitu suo eas inter se diviserant.*”¹ Odo tried to persuade the inmates of Fleury to three fundamental reforms : “ *ut ab esu carnum recederent, parceque viverent, nihilque proprium possiderent.*”² The devices they resorted to in order to defeat Odo are well known. They gave estates to their relatives, and, having empoverished the endowment, virtuously gave up eating meat and demanded a supply of fish, which in central France was particularly costly. Nor was Fleury unusual in its tenurial habits. Sackur long ago pointed out, in his classical work on the Cluny reform,³ that a study of the early sources for houses of the “ Cluny connection ”⁴ showed that communalization of the endowment was commonly the first stage in the reform of the monastery concerned.

It is true that we have here only two indubitable and relevant facts ; that holding *quasi propria* was common in Frankish monasteries and detested by the Cluny connection, and that the English reformers knew, revered, and borrowed from the practices of such reformed houses as Fleury.⁵ This does not prove of itself that unreformed English monasteries were necessarily in like case to unreformed Fleury, but taken together with the scanty but significant literary and charter evidence I have already cited, it does seem that the *onus probandi* is on those who wish to

¹ Migne, *PL.* cxxxiii. 81.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Die Cluniacenser* (Halle, 1892), i. 52.

⁴ Confusion is sometimes caused when the influence of Cluny is discussed, because later in the tenth century it became usual for a house reformed from Cluny to remain in permanent subjection to Cluny as part of the Cluniac order. The Cluniac order has tended to divert attention from what is probably much more important, the Cluny connection, that is houses, most of them great ones, reformed by the abbots of Cluny, or after Cluny's ideals. Fleury is the obvious example—the *arcisterium sancti Benedicti* Oswald's biographer called it, because it held the alleged bones of St. Benedict. The distinction was pointed out by Dom J. Othon in a classical article in the *Revue Mabillon* (1932), p. 151. Dom Othon correctly assigned the English houses of the reform movement to the Cluny connection.

⁵ Not only Fleury provided a model. Dunstan went in exile to St. Peter's, Ghent, and monks from Ghent as well as Fleury assisted at the compilation of the *Regularis Concordia*, p. 3. Æthelwold modelled the Abingdon chant on the customs of Corbeil, *Hist. Mon. Abingdon*, i. 129.

argue the contrary. It seems to me that the situation at Worcester in 964 was not unique, nor by contemporary standards incompatible with monasticism, although it certainly could not be reconciled with the *Rule* of St. Benedict. Indeed in many ways the English reform was the local branch of the Cluny connection, and decisive stage in the introduction of true Benedictine monasticism into England.

This tenurial revolution could not stop with the communalization of the endowment. At first sight it might appear that the enforcement of celibacy and the communalization of the endowment meant simply a storm in clerical teacups, but this is not so. The sources insist that the "clerks" whom the new monks replaced, or forcibly converted, were well-born. The tenth-century *Life* of St. Oswald, for instance, speaks of clerks of "very high birth" who squandered the treasures of the Church on their wives.¹ We know that the first prior of Worcester, Wynsige, had been a beneficed clerk there until he had been converted willy nilly by Oswald. The Ramsey Chronicle remarks that he was the best-born of the community of his day.² Well-born clerks tend to have equally well-born lay relatives endowed with power and influence, which, one may reasonably guess, lay in the districts in which their clerkly friends or relatives held their benefices. Consequently the communalization of the endowments and the expulsion of married clerks must have had wider repercussions. This may seem a dangerously unsubstantiated inference, but, in fact, it is a reasonable inference, as an examination of a little of the evidence for the nature of early ecclesiastical endowment and an analysis of some complaints about lay-reactions to the revival, will show.

It seems probable that in the first generations after the conversion of England, men who founded monasteries expected the estates concerned, and the monastery on them, to stay in the family. The foundation narrative of Gloucester, CS 60, taken with Bede's bitter complaints to Bishop Ecgberht,³ show that

¹ HCY. i. 411.

² Op. cit. p. 41.

³ I have discussed the machinery of early ecclesiastical endowment, and examined these two sources in some detail in *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester, 1959).

monasteries, and especially the rule of them, were expected to become hereditary. Smaller gifts of land to monasteries might also be expected to form what were in effect hereditary prebends within a complex of other, probably similarly placed endowments. If I am correct in my reading of it, CS 77 records the founding of just such a hereditary prebend.¹ An authentic late eighth-century charter, CS 283, which grants a Gloucester estate to Worcester on condition that it be always held by a male member of the grantor's family who has taken orders, and is presumably to be a member of the cathedral community, seems to do likewise. It is not surprising, then, to find Oswald beginning his monastic career by ruling a Winchester monastery which his uncle, Archbishop Oda, bought for him at a stiff price, "donando digno pretio".²

The most important way in which the Benedictine reformation affected, and overturned, established family rights, however, was in connection with the abbatial office itself. There is, I think, no doubt that in early English monasticism hereditary abbacies were common and probably the rule.³ This seems implicit in Bede's letter to Ecgbert and the early monastic foundation charters. It is equally strongly supported by the remarkable history of Iona, a community which, although not English, did exert a remarkable influence on English religious life. Eight of the first nine abbots of Iona were certainly relatives

¹ I have defended this interpretation of CS 77 in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxi (1958), pp. 125-7.

² HCY. i. 411. Odo of Cluny began his monastic career in a similar fashion. He was given a place in the community of St. Martin of Tours by Count Fulk of Anjou. "Comes Fulco, qui eum nutrierat : cui mox cellam juxta beati Martini tribuit ecclesiam et quotidianum victum ex eadem canonica acquisivit, eique concessit," *PL.*, cxxxiii. 48. The state of things at Tours sounds even less monastic than was Canterbury in the eighth century, yet Odo found the *Rule* of St. Benedict in the library at Tours, and assumed it was binding on him, *ibid.* c. 50. When Odo left Tours for Baume and St. Berno, he took one hundred volumes from the library with him, *ibid.* c. 54. Since it is difficult to believe that Odo stole the books or that the community of Tours was indifferent to its library, it is tempting to think that Odo took them in lieu of the portion he surrendered.

³ Whitelock, *EHD*. p. 77: "Anglo-Saxon landowners tended to regard the house they had founded as a family possession, to be handed down in their kindred."

of St. Columba; the ninth may have been.¹ At any rate the Benedictine reformers were mortally afraid of the grip of the hereditary principle on abbatial appointments. The *Concordia* strictly forbade *secularium prioratus*²; it seems likely enough that at least partly this *prioratus* meant the direct rule of monasteries by lay-men. The previous section had strictly enjoined that all elections should be carried out with the consent and advice of the king. This provision is plainly aimed against local great men seeking to enforce hereditary rights to control abbatial elections, since it is reinforced by a privilege found in charters granted to a number of reformed monasteries in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Almost all of these also contain dubious or spurious material, but since one charter of excellent repute,³ KCD 684, contains the privilege in question, it must represent a genuine provision of the reform period. It reads in the Abingdon version:

. . . that after the death of this same abbot Wulfgar, in whose day this restoration of liberty, according to the mind of Christ, was conceded, the whole community of the aforesaid monastery should elect an abbot with suitable counsel, according to the provision of the Rule of St. Benedict, choosing justly from amongst the same throng of bretheren. This liberty and privilege is to be observed by all catholics henceforth and for ever, nor are any outsiders whomsoever, relying on tyrannical contumacy and seizing authority in the aforesaid monastery, to exercise their power, but the aforesaid community shall be exalted by the privilege of perpetual liberty.

Thus the scanty evidence does point rather decisively to a deep-rooted principle of hereditary, local, control over abbatial elections, which the tenth-century reformers intended to abolish with royal help.

Again we may turn to Francia and the Cluny connection for illuminating analogies and parallels. The first crisis in the history of Cluny itself was the struggle to secure the election of Odo as abbot, and the exclusion of Wido, the nephew of the

¹ *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae* ed. J. T. Fowler (Oxford, 1894), genealogical table.

² *Op. cit.* p. 7. *Prioratus* is used of secular and spiritual authority in the *Concordia*. An interesting passage, p. 4, suggests that *prioratus* included the holding by lay-men of the abbatial office itself: "et hi qui spiritualis imperii prioratum ad disciplinae utilitatem non ad saecularis tyrannidem potentatus super eas exercent."

³ F. M. Stenton, *EHA*. p. 32.

founder, St. Berno.¹ Likewise the abbey of Fleury, which exercised such an important influence on the English reformers, was strengthened with a papal privilege which put the abbey under a regimen similar to that prescribed in the *Concordia*. At Fleury all local control was excluded,² and the responsibility for seeing that elections to the abbacy were held in accordance with the *Rule* assigned to the king of the Franks.³

It could not be expected that such an assault on vested interests as the Benedictine reformation represented, could pass without opposition. Nor did it. St. Æthelwold, for instance, complained :

If any of them (abbesses), led astray by the temptation of the devil, be convicted of crime against the Church or the State, let neither king nor secular lord be glad at it, as if the way were cleared and a reason given for him to rob God, who owns these possessions, and who never committed any crime. . . . If any of the king's reeves is convicted of crime against God or man, what man is so foolish or so senseless as to deprive the king of his property because his reeve is convicted? Therefore in the same way let whatever among the possessions of the churches is given to the eternal Christ stand for ever.⁴

Æthelwold, then, was worried about the forfeiture of estates belonging to the monasteries under the guise of penal fines. Oswald, too, was afraid of such penalties since several of his charters contain a precautionary provision. A charter of 963 for instance, reads : " The whole amount of the land, therefore, is 3 hides which Bishop Oswald grants by charter to his thegn

¹ Sackur, *op. cit.* i. 66.

² The main enemy of the Fleury monks was the bishop of Orleans, the local ordinary. Houses of the Cluny connection in Francia normally set great store by episcopal exemption. Other monastic reformers, in England and Lotharingia for instance, did not seek such exemption. It would be unwise to see a difference in principle here. In central France, and in the environs of Cluny itself, there was no strong reform-minded lay-power capable of schooling a secular-minded episcopate. In England, on the contrary, the king was powerful enough to choose his bishops and the English monks captured the episcopate before they captured the monasteries. It is likely that circumstances only, at first, determined the attitude of the Cluny connection to episcopal exemption. How dangerous it is to distinguish too sharply between Cluny and, say, Lotharingian attitudes to reform, is shown by the career of Leo IX as bishop of Toul. He was educated at St. Évre, a house of the Cluny reform, Michel, *Studi Gregoriani*, iii, 299 ; he retained an affection for Cluny, but he did not seek episcopal exemption for the reformed houses of his diocese, Michel, *art. cit.*

³ *PL.* cxxxii. 1076.

⁴ *EHD.* p. 849.

Æthelstan, on condition that whatever he does, the estate shall return unforfeited to the holy foundation.”¹ In order to understand the connection between these penal forfeitures and the reactions of aggrieved lay magnates dispossessed of hereditary rights in their family monasteries, it is necessary to say something briefly about the way justice was administered in England at this time.

The supreme responsibility for the making, changing and administering of the law was the king's. The king, however, did not, indeed could not, do everything himself, and some, probably considerable, powers of the execution and administration of justice were delegated to the chief royal *ministri*, the local ealdormen and king's thegns. We hear occasionally of men with delegated powers simply called reeves. *Reeve* is a word with a wide connotation in Anglo-Saxon, and some of these reeves were probably king's thegns and their immediate subordinates. In practice, since the ealdorman presided, with the bishop, in the local shire-moot, these great magnates and their local companions exercised great influence on the administration of justice in a given locality.² Thus local justice and local power tended to go hand in hand. It was just this class of man, part royal

¹ A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), no. xxxvi. I have cited Dr. Robertson's translation.

² A good example of how limited was the King's power to enforce unpopular decisions, especially those to do with land litigation, is provided by the narrative of the history of an estate subsequently granted by Queen Eadgifu to Christ Church Canterbury, F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents* (Cambridge, 1914), no. xxiii. Eadgifu was the wife of Edward the Elder and the mother of Edmund and Eadred. She disputed an estate with one Goda, who held the land in question. After six years complaining the *witenagemot* heard the queen's case and found for her: "Even then she could not get possession of the estate until her friends induced King Edward to declare that Goda must restore the estate, if he wished to hold any land at all; and so he relinquished it." As soon as her son Eadred died, she was again despoiled of her property; it was not until the accession of Edgar that it was restored with the support of the young king and his *witan*. Even a great lady like Eadgifu, then, could get her rights only with difficulty. Even a strong king like Edward was only reluctantly prepared to enforce a decision of his own *witan* in favour of his own wife. Under a weak king all semblance of justice vanished overnight, even for so great a person as the dowager queen. It will be obvious then that the power of the local establishment—mainly composed, of course, of the ealdormen and king's thegns—was very strong indeed in the tenth century.

minister, part great landed proprietor in his own right, that Bede says went in for founding hereditary, family, and fraudulent monasteries on a great scale.¹ It is the ealdormen and king's thegns who lie behind the early monastic foundation charters and narratives.² It is they, or rather their descendants in the tenth century, who were at once the losers by the new order of things, and the men with judicial powers over the new monks, their estates, and tenants. It is hardly to be wondered at that they may sometimes have been tempted to take back what they thought was their own under the guise of judicial process. I do not see that we can interpret Æthelwold's complaints or explain the provision in Oswald's charters in any other way. We are not, however, limited to these scraps of evidence; some charters have survived which show something of the character of the remedies devised by Edgar and his monk-bishops to meet these quasi-judicial forfeitures.

In effect King Edgar met the danger by transferring certain of the delegated powers, of what we should call government, from the local ealdorman and his subordinate *ministri* to the local abbot or bishop. The charters which record these transactions are amongst the most enigmatic in Anglo-Saxon history; we are certainly only at the beginning of understanding them. The best of them relate to the churches of Winchester and Worcester and their 'liberties' as these stood in the first generation of the reform.³ It would seem from these that Edgar met

¹ *Ad Ecgbertum, Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), i. 416: "ut nullus pene exinde praelectorum extiterit qui non huiusmodi sibi monasterium in diebus suae praelecturae comparaverit. . . . ac praevalente pessima consuetudine ministri quoque regis ac famuli idem facere sategerint; atque ita ordine perverso innumeri sint inventi, qui se abbates pariter et praelectos sive ministros aut famulos regis appellent. . . ."

² CS 60 was the foundation narrative of Gloucester. The endowment was granted to a royal *minister*, Osric in *iure perpetuo*. CS 154 is a grant by King Æthelbald to Ealdorman Cyniberht "ad construendam coenubium". Cyniberht's son was probably an abbot, CS 220. CS 77 is a grant to a *minister* of the Mercian king, Oslaf, and Worcester cathedral. Most of the early landbooks take the form of grants to ecclesiastical institutions, usually represented by their patron saints, or to men with an ecclesiastical title. Many of these, unless we disbelieve Bede, must have been in fact fraudulent grants.

³ The labours of Dr. Robertson and Dr. Harmer have immensely clarified the Winchester evidence; I have myself attempted a minute examination of the

the threat to the young episcopal monasteries in question by excluding the royal *ministri*, that is the ealdorman and the local king's thegns, from some of the church's estates, burdening the bishop with certain judicial, and even military, obligations formerly discharged by lay *ministri*. This seems to have been done by making the bishops in question the heads of hundreds—in the tenth century the principal Anglo-Saxon unit of local government. In later language the king granted away hundreds to the churches of Worcester and Winchester. Thus the judicial powers exercised by and through the hundred were now firmly under the supervision of its new head, the local bishop. In this way the danger to ecclesiastical endowments in the guise of judicial forfeitures was avoided. The Winchester evidence, and to a lesser extent the Worcester documents, show that these grants of hundredal authority had further and serious consequences for the principal men of the district in question. Thegns who had previously held land by book, with the right to dispose of it freely by testament or sale, lost this right. In future they were to hold precariously at the bishop's will.¹ Æthelwold, at Winchester, gave these men life-tenancies only, Oswald, at Worcester, more generous or less powerful, gave them tenancies for three lives with reversion to the church in the end.

To go further into the details and implications of these "liberties" would involve a long and controversial discussion which I have attempted elsewhere.² However, that the suppression of bookright in the interests of the new monks was important outside the liberties of the churches of Winchester and Worcester, is suggested by a clause in the series of charters for reformed houses already quoted above. The Pershore version, CS 1282 reads :

Tempore siquidem quo rura quae domino devoto concessi animo injuste a sancta Dei aecclesia ablata fuerant perfidi quique novas sibi hereditarias kartas usurpantes ediderunt sed in patris et filii et spiritus sancti nomine precipimus ut catholicorum nemo easdem recipiat sed a cunctis repudiatae fidelibus in anathemate deputentur veteri jugiter vigente privilegio.

relevant Worcester charters. The documents, the liberties, and the problems they present are discussed in my *Land Tenure in Early England*.

¹ This is suggested by the lawsuit recorded in F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), no. 108.

² I have discussed these at some length in *Land Tenure in Early England*.

The Winchester charters show how little safeguard for long-established interests was this insistence that the Church should have traditional rights to the lands in question. We do not yet understand the full implications of the monks' tenurial revolution, but it is becoming clearer that the tenth-century reformation entailed a swingeing attack on entrenched and traditional local interests as part of the effort to enforce the strict observance of the *Rule* of St. Benedict. It is no wonder the monks had to wait on the zeal of the reigning king: King Edgar's part in the reformation of the monasteries was as great as Henry VIII's in their dissolution.

I should like in conclusion to point to some implications and consequences of this necessary alliance of monks and the monarchy. It is not unfair to say that the revival had a characteristic shape by the time it produced real monks and real monasteries. It was a court movement; at first no more than a current of opinion amongst clerical courtiers about what was going on in Lotharingia, Fleury or wherever. At the centre of things stood the king, on whose nod the revival waxed and waned. Of course in the end the revival depended on monks in monasteries, but the monasteries depended on the king. Once the establishment of monasteries had been determined by Edgar, monasticism became high politics, and its maintenance in the circumstances of the tenth century made it more than ever dependent on royal favour. The monks were not only aware of this, they gladly acknowledged it. We find gratitude to the royal family at the heart of their spiritual life, the liturgy, with its endless round of prayers for king and queen. Nor did monkish "royalism" stop at prayers, even doctrine was affected. The reformers promoted a "political theology" of an extreme kind. For them the king was a true *mediator inter clericos et laicos*, and his quasi-priestly character is well-shown by the *ordo* devised by one of them, probably Dunstan, for Edgar's coronation, which significantly did not take place until he had passed the age of canonical ordination, thirty.¹ St. Æthelwold went so far as to compare Edgar with

¹ P. E. Schramm, *History of the English Coronation* (Oxford, 1937), p. 119. The constitutional importance of this *ordo*, especially the implications of the substitution of the *promisso regis* for the *primum mandatum*, argued for by Professor Schramm, have been convincingly questioned by C. A. Boumann, *Sacring and Crowning* (Groningen, 1957), 142-5.

the Good Shepherd in the *Regularis Concordia*.¹ A generation later, a monk of the Æthelwold connection, says "a christian king is Christ's representative amongst a christian people".²

The dependence, then, of the monks on royal power, and their very real gratitude is clear enough, but the monarchy's charity was something more than its own reward. Something must also be said of the political consequences of King Edgar's benefactions. It is certain, I think, that Edgar's conduct must have been prompted by a genuine devotion to Benedictine monasticism, as interpreted for him by his tutor, Æthelwold. To suppose otherwise we should have to credit him with a prescience and cynical concealment of motives never found in real life, but only in the pages of history books. What is more, the risks involved must have been at least as evident as the advantages to be gained. We need not doubt, however, that Edgar was to some extent aware of what the monarchy stood to gain from the attempt to eliminate or reduce *saecularium prioratus*.

The *Concordia* replaced *saecularium prioratus* by royal *dominium*. In doing this it secured for the king a prominent part in every regular abbatial election. In other words every reformed monastery in England was turned into a royal *eigenkloster*. The value of this for the monarchy hardly needs stressing. It was particularly important in midland England. In Mercia the West Saxon dynasty had only recently acquired authority, and King Edgar can have inherited few estates and little *prioratus* over ecclesiastical property. The reform inevitably changed this. If we take the single example of Worcester, we can see how the monarchy benefited from the new order of things. The church of Worcester had originally been the church and see connected with the ruling family of the Hwicce in the days of the Mercian hegemony.³ After the Viking wars and the dismemberment of Mercia, the former territory of the Hwicce seems to have become the heart of "English" Mercia, and Worcester perhaps the principal church subject to the Mercian

¹ Op. cit. p. 2: "Regali utique functus officio veluti Pastorum Pastor . . . a rabidis perfidorum rictibus . . . oves . . . eripuit."

² VIII Æthelred 2. 1, F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1903), i. 263.

³ CS 183.

ealdorman. At any rate Bishop Werfrith of Worcester, about the year 904, refers in a charter to Ealdorman Æthelred of Mercia and his wife as the community's lords.¹ St. Oswald's great "liberty", which covered the heart of modern Worcestershire and surrounded the important fortified *burh* of Worcester, was henceforth subject to a monk-bishop nominated by the king. The ealdorman of Mercia was virtually excluded; what is more, the bishop, being celibate, could never have heirs, and the succession was determined only with royal advice and royal consent. We know from the *Vita Oswaldi*, that Oswald established seven monasteries in Mercia.² Even if none of them had the privileges that Worcester enjoyed, they are likely to have had some privileges, and these could only have been added to the powers of the abbot by subtraction from the authority of the ealdorman of Mercia and his friends. It is not surprising to find Ealdorman Ælfhere of Mercia in the van of opposition to the monks when the death of Edgar made opposition possible. There is evidence that ealdormen in other parts of the country resented the new monks too.³

The monarchy profited also from the less tangible aspects of the revival. Every monastery in the country which obeyed the command of the *Concordia*, with its constant round of prayers for the king, was a *foyer* of royalist propaganda. The high doctrine of kingly dignity promoted by the monks can have done the standing of the monarchy no harm, and may have done it some good. We cannot estimate the effects of this intangible ideological support, but we should not therefore ignore it. Abbots were henceforth counted amongst the king's *witan*; they appear regularly and in quantity at *witenagemotan*: we may guess they were equally prominent in the local shire courts.

¹ *Charters*, no. xix.

² *HCY*. i. 439.

³ *Charters*, lix, speaks of: "Ealdorman Edwin [of Sussex] and the folk who were enemies of God." They seized estates from Rochester cathedral after Edgar's death. The flagrant nepotism practised by St. Oswald cannot have made the conversion of Worcester palatable to the dispossessed Mercian clerks and thegns. Oswald gave his brother Osulf three written grants, CS 1139, 1204 and 1233; another brother, Æthelstan, got one charter, KCD 623; a kinswoman was granted CS 1180; two kinsmen were the grantees of KCD 637, 645 and 670; Eadric *compater* was given CS 1182.

Some of the new monks preached, and with force; mostly they preached to monks, but sometimes they spoke to lay-men as well. The sermon "of the Wolf to the English" is an obvious, and, thanks to Dr. Whitelock, famous example. We have, therefore, another possible channel for ideological influence in the royalist interest. The new monks, like the old clerks, tended to be well-born, and any heightening of their respect for the West Saxon royal house is likely to have communicated itself to their relatives at home. In other words the monasteries offered an atmosphere permeated with devotion to the royal family: on the great occasions and in the shire meetings, within their monastic connections of whatever kind and degree, the English upper classes were forced to breathe that atmosphere. We shall never know how much this ideology mattered, but it must have contributed to the transformation of the royal family of Wessex into the royal family of England.

It is plain that the tenth-century reformation was more than an episode in the domestic history of religious establishments; it has its place in what it is unfashionable, but reasonable, to call constitutional history. There was a good deal more to the reign of Edgar than historians have hitherto allowed.

FAITH AND REASON IN THE THOUGHT OF GREGORY OF RIMINI (c. 1300-1358)

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IF any one trait may be said to characterize fourteenth-century thought it is the progressive withdrawal of faith from the arena of philosophy and rational knowledge. Perhaps the greatest driving force in the development of medieval thought during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been the confidence that the truths of faith were accessible to human understanding and rational demonstration. It had nurtured a diversity of *summae* and systems, designed to incorporate the conclusions derived from the accumulating wealth of natural, mainly Aristotelian, knowledge into a Christian framework; it also led to some of the greatest works of Christian apologetics, including St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles*, with the purpose of convincing the unbeliever and the infidel. With Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, and, even more with William of Ockham, however, the growing doubts over such a union were given full and lasting expression. Although not the first to do so, they reverted to a conception of theology as an independent pursuit which was marked off from natural knowledge in the strict sense. Theology, they held, was a self-contained corpus with its own tenets and principles. It could not be regarded as just one more science governed by laws which were applicable to all knowledge, for, as founded on revealed truth, it was dependent on faith, not natural experience.

These thinkers, moreover, were so obsessed by the contingent nature of all creation that they refused to countenance the possibility of arriving at a knowledge of God through creation. There could be no meeting between them when God in the full freedom of His will could override all natural causality and, with it, the finite order of things from which natural knowledge was drawn. This was particularly apparent in the Commentaries

on the *Sentences* of Duns Scotus and Ockham; although they differed from each other in almost every respect, they both concurred in regarding theology as independent of natural knowledge. It did not constitute knowledge at all as understood in the sense of, say, geometry or medicine. Both Duns and Ockham devoted, as was customary, the Prologues in their respective Commentaries on the *Sentences* to defining the nature of theology and the means by which its truths could be known. That Ockham's Prologue was virtually a point by point reply to that of Duns has tended to divert the attention of historians from the equally significant fact that they held a common attitude towards the indemonstrability of theological propositions. Where Duns tried to construct an alternative way of reaching them, Ockham devoted himself primarily to criticism of his attempt.¹

Among those in whom this revised attitude towards theology is apparent was Gregory of Rimini (c. 1300-58), General of the Augustinian friars in 1357 and one of the most neglected and important thinkers of the fourteenth century. Although different aspects of his thought have been sympathetically treated by J. Würsdörfer² and M. Schüler³ and his influence upon the *complexe significabile* has been examined by H. Élie,⁴ it remains true, as D. Trapp has remarked in a recent article,⁵ that we have still no clear idea of where Gregory stood amidst the disturbed currents of his time. Both Würsdörfer and Schüler have given passing consideration to his attitude towards theology; but a more thoroughgoing examination is required as the starting point to a fuller assessment of Gregory's outlook.

This is the purpose of the present article. Its concern is to trace, as consecutively as Gregory's text will allow,⁶ the main lines of the argument which Gregory pursues in elucidating the nature of knowledge in general and theology in particular.

¹ For a detailed commentary on Ockham's Prologue see R. Guelluy, *Philosophie et Théologie chez Guillaume d'Ockham*, Louvain, 1947.

² J. Würsdörfer, *Erkennen und Wissen nach Gregor von Rimini*, Münster, 1917.

³ M. Schüler, *Prädestination, Sünde und Freiheit bei Gregor von Rimini*, Stuttgart, 1934.

⁴ H. Élie: *Le complexe significabile*, Paris, 1937.

⁵ 'Peter Ceffons of Clairvaux', in *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, January-July 1957.

⁶ All references to 1522 edition, Venice.

No attempt has been made to go beyond the Prologue, and although Gregory does not cover so much ground as Ockham in his Prologue, the essentials of his position over theology are made plain.

Gregory's Prologue consists of five questions, subdivided into articles numbering usually three or four. They are far from following a direct sequence, and, as is so often the case with such treatises, the thread tends to be overlaid by subsidiary matters which arise by the way. Nevertheless, in essence, Gregory's intention is to arrive at an understanding of the nature of knowledge and of theology, and then to consider the special conditions of theology.

Three features stand out in Gregory's treatment. The first is his concern to verify knowledge by experience. This leads him to criticize Ockham's assertion that the object of demonstrable knowledge lies in the conclusion of a syllogism. Gregory, on the other hand, insists that the significance of the conclusion itself must be fully understood. Secondly, he regards as absolute the division between theology and knowledge. Theology starts from faith; hence it is impossible to reach its truths without belief. Its foundation, as we shall see, lies exclusively in scripture nothing outside the sacred canon can be accepted as theological truth. Thirdly, even theology cannot enable us to know God as God absolutely. We can only know Him as the creator and as providence; that is, from the aspect of creation and not as He exists in His own nature. Throughout his *Commentary on the Sentences* Gregory shows an ever-present awareness of this distinction between God in Himself and God as revealed through creation. This is later given explicit expression in the division between God's absolute power (*potentia absoluta*) and His ordained power (*potentia ordinata*).¹ His ordained power comprised biblical truth and provided the authority for belief and Christian practice. His absolute power concerned God in His omnipotence: what He was able to do rather than what He had decreed for this world. Although it does not apply directly to the questions raised in the Prologue, by Gregory's acknowledgement of these two different levels at which God operates

¹ See especially *Sentences*, Bk. I, d. 42-44, q. 1, a.2.

he is able to remain faithful to God's decrees and yet never try to circumscribe Him by them.¹ Indeed what is remarkable about this aspect of Gregory's teaching is his refusal to be led to the extremes of either the Ockhamists or Bradwardine in championing one at the expense of the other.

I

It is important at the outset to stress what Gregory understands by the object of knowledge. It is not the direct apprehension of external objects but the result of a mental demonstration in which a conclusion can be reached about what is known. Consequently all knowledge is the property of the syllogism or proposition.² Objects in themselves cannot provide true knowledge because they represent only what is contingent; hence to be confined to them would be never to reach the immaterial and necessary truths which lie beyond them.³ Moreover immediate awareness of an object does not imply an understanding⁴ of it or involve reflexion upon it.⁵ This is possible only by means of a mental proposition in which, by affirmation and negation, a conclusion over what has been perceived can be reached. It is by this means and not by objects themselves that we assent dissent, believe and are in error;⁶ for these all imply judgement, which comes only with mental reflexion. Thus what Gregory in common with his age is to call complex knowledge⁷—knowledge by means of propositions as opposed to simple knowledge where an object is seized immediately without reflexion—is the foundation of genuine knowledge (*scientia*).

Now not every proposition fulfils the conditions necessary

¹ For a full discussion of the importance of God's *potentia absoluta* see the author's *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, Cambridge, 1957, especially chapter VIII.

² *Scientia* autem de qua loquimur non nisi per demonstrationem acquiritur (Prol. q.1. a.1 l. H).

³ E.g. as with the propositions of geometry and other sciences (ibid. G).

⁴ Nam talis apprehensio non est scientia, ut nunc de scientia loquimur, cum per quamlibet demonstrationem sciatur aliquid alicui inesse vel non inesse (ibid.).

⁵ . . . non tamen actu reflectitur super illam apprehendendo ipsam (ibid. G).

⁶ . . . si res extra essent obiectum totale scientie . . . eadem ratione res extra essent obiectum opinionis et fidei et erroris (ibid. l. N).

⁷ See Bk. I, d. 3. q.1 a.1. 36 D.

to provide true knowledge and Gregory distinguishes three different kinds of proposition belonging to two categories. There are firstly mental images—or resemblances—of spoken words or statements, from which they are abstracted. These vary according to the language in which they are expressed, e.g. Latin or Greek.¹ As images they can be formed either mentally or mutely. The second type of image consists in purely mental concepts which have no correspondence to words; they are the same for all men, undiversified by differences of language. They are therefore prior to all words, for they constitute the natural signs which words are designed to represent.² Of these mental images one group derives from experience whether direct or indirect. No matter how such mental propositions are formed they are all ultimately founded upon knowledge of external things.³ The other group, however, is not; it consists in a judgement upon what is already known in the mind, without pronouncing upon its reality.⁴ It therefore comes within the province of belief and opinion, not knowledge.

This tripartite division of mental propositions governs Gregory's view of knowledge. It has the effect of isolating

¹ Quidam enim est earum que sunt vocalium enuntiationum imagines vel similitudines ab exterioribus vocibus in anima derivate, vel per ipsam fecte¹ iuxta modum qui infra dist. 3 declarabit de abstractione et fictione in anima speciarum vel conceptuum, et iste non sunt eiusdem rationis in omnibus hominibus. Sed alie sunt in greco, alie in latino etiam idem significantes (Prol. q.1. a.3. 4 F).

² Quidam vero genus est enuntiationum mentalium que nullarum sunt similitudines vocum, nec secundum illarum diversitatem in hominibus habentibus diversificantur, sed eadem sunt secundum speciem apud omnes idipsum naturaliter significantes quid vocales eis subordinate ad significandum ad placitum, et per institutionem significant, et ille sunt verba que nullius lingue sunt (ibid. F/G).

³ Hoc autem genus secundum enuntiationum mentalium subdividitur: quantum quedam immediate ex rerum intuitivis notitiis incomplexis, tanquam ex partialibus causis, vel ex aliis complexis vel incomplexis, ex illis vel mediate vel immediate causatis, seu ex habitibus extalibus notitiis complexis derelictis causantur, vel forsitan etiam quedam non ex aliquibus incomplexis notitiis causantur, sed simpliciter prime venientes in mentem naturaliter (ibid. G).

⁴ Quedam vero sunt que non ex talibus primis notitiis rerum aliquo predicatorum modorum causantur, cuiusmodi sunt enuntiationes quibus quis enuntiat mente et iudicat que sic vel sic esse, aut non esse, non cognoscens tamen intuitive aut alia notitia prima vel ex intuitiva derivata, que sic sit vel non sit, sicut enuntiat in mente quis dum credit vel opiniatur (ibid. G-H).

the statement from its truth and both from the assent necessary to any demonstration. The first category is concerned only with the words of a proposition, devoid either of knowledge or of judgement;¹ the second comprises both knowledge and assent to what is known;² the third is merely assent divorced from knowledge and applies equally to dissent which is the negative aspect of the act of assent.³ None of these proposition implies the other. Hence Gregory concludes, firstly, that mental propositions do not necessarily involve assent to what is known;⁴ secondly, that not all propositions constitute knowledge;⁵ and thirdly assent does not imply knowledge.⁶ In consequence, strict knowledge is not synonymous with the syllogism *in se*; it has to be composed of those elements which, taken together, constitute not only a mental demonstration but one which conforms to reality. For this reason Gregory cannot accept Ockham's contention that the object of knowledge is the conclusion of a mental demonstration.⁷ A mere statement does not of itself provide a guarantee of its truth⁸ any more than a geometer's demonstration that the sides of a triangle are equal, or doctor's diagnosis of a disease, do so by themselves.⁹ These can be mere words, as liable to be false as true;¹⁰ hence to follow any conclusion of

¹ . . . propositiones primi generis sic sunt enuntiationes quod non sunt notitiae formaliter, necque assensus, non plus quam enuntiationes vocales quibus sunt similes (ibid. H).

² Secundi autem generis propositiones et enuntiationes sunt et notitiae et assensus (ibid.).

³ Tertii autem generis propositiones et enuntiationes quidem sunt et assensus, sed non notitiae (ibid.).

⁴ Ulterius sequitur ex istis quod non omnis mentalis enuntiatio est assensus (ibid. I).

⁵ Et quod quamvis omnis notitia complexa, id est de complexo enuntiabili sit mentalis enuntiatio, non tamen e contrario omnis mentalis enuntiatio est talis notitia.

⁶ Item quod quamvis omnis huius notitia sit assensus, non quilibet tamen assensus est talis notitia.

⁷ Prol. q.1. a.1. 1 G.

⁸ Praeterea omnis actus intellectus verus vel falsus est enuntiatio (Prol. q.1 a.3 3 Q).

⁹ Prol. q.1 a.1 1 I.

¹⁰ Suppono quod sic esse vel non sic esse non est propositionem enuntiantem sic esse vel non sic esse veram . . . nihilominus tamen sic esse est causa quod propositio sit vera et non e contrario, et per consequens sic esse non

any proposition can offer no certainty. This can only be found in complete verification of the conclusion; it involves actual knowledge of that to which the conclusion refers and mental assent to the conclusion.¹ Gregory calls this composite act of statement, knowledge and assent the *significatum totale*. It is the object of knowledge.²

Gregory's insistence upon the composite nature of knowledge is the hallmark of his treatment of it. Strict knowledge must combine direct experience of what exists with due mental reflexion upon its nature. Together, as embodied in a mental demonstration, knowledge is produced. Gregory stresses in particular the importance of verification. Although, as we have seen, direct apprehension of an object cannot in itself lead to understanding or knowledge in its strict sense, it is indispensable to it. Gregory invokes Aristotle in support of his contention that if the different elements which make up the act of knowledge—statement, cognition and assent—were separated cognition would be primary.³ In reality, however, all must be present together.⁴ By assent we are able to judge that the understanding, which has been gained by reflexion, is from a valid demonstration. Thus the conclusion is itself the result of

est propositionem enuntiantem sic esse veram. Item suppono quod sic esse non est propositio enuntians sic esse, et hoc etiam dicit Philosophus . . . Non est autem inquit quod sub affirmatione et negatione iacet affirmatio et negatio . . . Suppono etiam ³⁰ quod propositio aliqua non est ipsam esse veram. Hoc patet alias quicumque apprehenderet propositionem, apprehenderet ipsam esse veram. Item quia contingit eandem propositionem esse veram et falsam successive (ibid. K-L).

¹ Ex his omnibus patet, quantum ad illud quod in hoc articulo principaliter inquiritur, quod actus qui proprie scientia dicitur est ipsamet conclusio demonstrationis mentalis proprie accepte, et cognoscendi sic esse, sicut conclusio enuntiat, necnon actus assentiendi eidem, eidem namque actui omnia ista competunt (Prol. q.1. a.3 5 G).

² Tertia [conclusio] est quod significatum totale conclusionis est obiectum scientie (Prol. q.1 a.1 1 G).

³ Si autem queratur sub qua potius ratione dicatur actus ille scientie, dicendum quod in quantum est actus cognoscendi sic esse. Quod probatur, tum quia si essent tres actus distincti, quorum uno tantum enuntiaret, alio cognosceret sic esse, et alio assentiret, non est dubium quod proprie ille solus vel maxime quo cognosceretur sic esse, esset scientia. Patet etiam per philosophum qui scire specialiter per cognoscere describit (ibid. a.3. 5 G).

⁴ Ibid.

assent ;¹ without a conclusion there would be no demonstration, and without assent there would be no conclusion.²

Now, although knowledge and assent are not inherent in the same proposition, they are yet part of a single mental act.³ Thus both knowledge and the act of knowing, although involving diverse elements, constitute a unity : in neither case can what is known be separated from assent thereto.⁴ As a consequence of this composite process, Gregory's solution is not only different from that of Ockham, but it introduces a new element into the nature of knowledge—the *significatum totale*, and although it does not concern us here, this concept was to have an important future.⁵ For us it gives rise to the problem of whether this *significatum totale* itself corresponds to anything or whether it is simply an expression. Gregory makes a threefold distinction over the meaning of thing or being.⁶ In its most general sense it includes any sign, simple or complex, true or false ;⁷ secondly it can denote any sign which is true ;⁸ finally in its strict connotation it is confined to that which signifies a real being, and by

¹ Primam conclusionem probo sic : omnis actus assentiendi seu assensus est enuntiatio, ergo conclusio est assensus. Antecedens probatur, quantum nihil aliud est assentire quam iudicare sic esse (Prol. q.1. a.3. 3 Q).

² . . . si conclusio non esset ipse assensus, inutiliter et superflue ipse poneretur in intellectu demonstrante, cum in quolibet tali intellectu sit assensus qui est enuntiatio idipsum significans quod significat conclusio, et ipsa conclusio ad nihil valeat ad quod non sufficiat assensus (ibid. 4A).

³ Tertia conclusio est quod circa taliter demonstratum vel scitum non sunt ponendi tres actus distincti in anima ad enuntiandum conclusionem et cognoscendum et credendum seu assentiendum sic esse vel non sic esse, sed quod idem actus sufficit ad hoc et idem actus est conclusio, notitia, et assensus (ibid.Q).

⁴ . . . quia est circa obiectum scientie, quod proprie est illud quod significatur per conclusionem demonstrationis, ut patet ex primo articulo, intellectus habet actum cognoscendi et actum credendi seu assentiendi, nam per ipsam conclusionem enuntiat sic esse, si est affirmativa, vel non sic esse, si est negativa. Cognoscitur etiam sic esse sicut enuntiat, unde primo Posteriorum dicitur quod scire est per demonstrationem intelligere et quod demonstratio est syllogismus faciens scire, non solum autem enuntiat et cognoscit sic esse, sed etiam credit seu assentit quod ita est (Prol. q.1 a.3. 3 K-L).

⁵ See H. Élie, op. cit.

⁶ He regards the terms aliquid, ens and res as synonymous. (Prol. q.1 a.1. 1 Q).

⁷ Uno modo communissime, secundum quod omne significabile complexum vel incomplexum, et hoc vere vel false dicitur res et aliquid (ibid.).

⁸ Alio modo sumuntur pro omni significabile complexum vel incomplexum, sed vere, id est per veram enuntiationem (ibid. 2 A).

this criterion that which does not exist in reality is nothing.¹ Thus the *significatum totale* can be said to be something under each of the first two meanings but clearly not by the third.² As the product of a mental proposition it cannot have any direct correspondence to external objects: as, for example, to say that man is a spiritual rational being is nothing, though to say that a man is rational or has a soul signifies actually an existing individual.³

We are now in a position to assess Gregory's view of knowledge. Its foundation is the composite nature of the proposition, with cognition and assent to what is known as the prerequisites of a true demonstration. As Gregory weaves them together, they become a seamless web in which, if knowledge is to result, no single element can stand alone.⁴ While, on the one hand, self-evident perception of what exists is the indispensable condition of truth, it must, on the other, be fused with judgement and understanding. The effect of this combination is far reaching. In the first place, because of the rôle of direct apprehension, knowledge not ultimately founded upon it cannot guarantee the truth; it is confined to principles and is the product of the mind.⁵ In the second place, when this axiom is joined to the dictum that the object of knowledge lies in total signification of the conclusion, it means that neither subject nor object can stand alone, for they are not separable from the rest of the proposition.⁶ Not only does this enable Gregory to rebut

¹ Tertio modo sumuntur ista ut significant aliquam essentiam sive entitatem existentem, et hoc modo quod non existit dicitur nihil (ibid. A).

² . . . cum dicitur utrum illud totale significatum sit aliquid vel nihil dico quod si aliquid sumatur primo modo vel secundo modo est aliquid. Si vero tertio modo sumatur, non est aliquid (ibid. B). ³ Ibid.

⁴ E.g. aut notitia conclusionis, id est enuntiabilis per conclusionem, sit notitia nobis naturaliter ex alia prior notitia complexa, aut non. Si non, ergo non est scientia proprie loquendo. (Prol. q.1. a.4. 6 L.)

Again:

quantum nulla veritas contingens non nota nobis per experientiam est eque nobis nota, sicut illa de qua habemus scientiam (ibid. 7 B).

⁵ Si vero sit in nobis ex alia priori notitia complexa, illa notitia ex qua sit / est notitii principii, sed eius quid per principium importatur (ibid. 6 M).

⁶ dicitur a quibusdam quod differentia est inter obiectum et subiectum scientie (Prol. q.1. a.1. 1 D). . . . Iste opinio non apparet mihi vera (ibid. 1 G).

and:

Ockham's assertion that the conclusion in any proposition is the object of knowledge as such ; but, even more far-reaching, the elaborate foundations of Duns Scotus's view of theology are sapped by Gregory's denial that knowledge of the subject of a proposition gives rise to knowledge of its properties.¹ Gregory has made knowledge of both subject and object equally derive from experience. Finally, Gregory, by his analysis of what constitutes a true demonstration, has shown that opinion and assent, on the one hand, and knowledge on the other are not synonymous, and that although knowledge requires assent and opinion, opinion and assent do not imply knowledge. As we shall see, he is able to carry forward the same distinction to make faith independent of knowledge.

Armed, then, with these distinctions, Gregory's treatment of the nature of theology consists largely in their application to it. Once more, it is necessary to enter the qualification that the argument presented here is in danger of making Gregory's more clearcut and consecutive than it is in his Commentary.

II

There are three aspects to Gregory's treatment of theology. The first concerns its nature in general and more specifically its relation to natural knowledge, science and opinion. The second is over the subject of theology. The third deals with the import of theological understanding—whether it is practical or speculative, or both.

Most noteworthy in Gregory's consideration of the nature of theology is his uncompromising dismissal of all non-theological principles as an aid to theological understanding.² Theology

Ex istis patet quod affirmatio et negatio non dicuntur actus compositi essentialiter ex talibus notiis partialiter distinctis, quarum una sit subiectum et reliqua predicatum, ut multi putant, sed quia equivalent in significando pluribus vocibus vel scripturis propositionem vocalem suo modo componentibus, vel quia compositionem et divisionem significant in entibus (Prol q.1. a.3. 4 O).

¹ E.g. nulla creatura non continet primo aliquam rem virtualiter, igitur non omne subiectum (Prol. q.4. a.1. 15 N). Gregory, Prol. q.4. a.1. 15^{rb}-15^{vb}, has five conclusions which combat Dun's view here.

² principia theologie sic sumpte que scilicet per theologicos discursus acquiritur sunt ipse sacri canonis veritates (Prol. q.1. a.2. 3 C).

derives exclusively from scriptural truth;¹ only the knowledge contained in the bible can qualify for theological discourse.² This self-contained body of revealed truth results in the clear demarcation of theology from natural knowledge; even so, theology is not synonymous with simple faith.³ While the latter is the prerequisite of theology, to believe is not to be versed in rigours of theological disquisition. Although theology stands between these two extremes of revelation and natural reason it affords no bridge between them. This is the theme of his argument against those who regard theology as accessible to reason, or as knowledge in its own right. Thus, Gregory confronts us, as do Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus and Ockham, with the utter impossibility of an apologetic theology: there is no means of circumventing the stark alternatives of faith or infidelity. Theology can have no relevance to the infidel, just because, if it were open to all alike irrespective of whether they believed or not, it would be otiose. On the contrary, the entire justification of theology lies in the exclusiveness of its tenets. Gregory recurs again and again to this argument:⁴ whereas we can say that the classical conception of thirteenth-century theologians was to make revelation accessible to reason, the theologians of the fourteenth century looked to its defence. It was to be fortified behind the barriers of faith; hence far from constituting knowledge in the strict sense theology could not be approached except through faith.

¹ Respondeo ergo ad articulum quod discursus proprie theologicus est qui constat ex dictis sive propositionibus in sacra scriptura contentis, vel ex his que deducuntur ex eis (Prol. q.1. a.2. 2 Q).

² Sequitur quod nullus discursus non procedens ex dictis sacre scripture, vel his que deducuntur ex eis est theologicus (ibid.).

³ . . . non tamen theologice, nisi illa maior sumatur tanquam conclusio alterius theologi discursus, quo scilicet ipsa ex sacra scriptura sit deducta, alioquin quilibet fidelis et noviter baptizatus adultus, qui nunquam legit vel audivit sacram scripturam, recipiens symbolum credendum ab ecclesia, et habens illud principium, theologice posset concludere quemlibet articulum fidei, et sic absque studio et notitia sacre scripture foret theologus, quod nullus sapiens diceret ut puto (ibid. 3 H).

⁴ E.g. 5^a si theologicus discursus esset ex propositionibus probabilibus in lumine naturali, sequeretur quod neganti sacram scripturam, et maxime quo ad dicta eius precise credita, posset theologice veritas theologica. Consequens est falsum (ibid. 2 O). See also, Prol. q.1. a.4. 7 C and p. 102 below.

The scriptural foundation of theology is of the utmost significance for Gregory's treatment, for not only does it rule out any independent terrain where reason can operate, but it also precludes speculation either about matters not contained in the bible or about God, other than as creator of this world. This will lead him, as we shall have cause to note, to a far more restricted view of God as the subject of theology, as well as to confine the discussion of matters theological to what God has ordained.¹

Theology as such Gregory defines in one of two ways. It can be understood as the habit or habits² by which we know the sense of the scriptures, and by which we can prove and infer one truth from another, including those not formally contained therein. In this sense theology is the act or acts which derive from such habits.³ The second connotation of theology is assent by the believer to the conclusions thus reached.⁴ Here we may cast our minds back to what Gregory defined as the object of knowledge, since it also applies to the object of theology: that is to say, the content or the signification of the conclusions so reached.⁵

Now there is an important difference in these two definitions because, although they are both founded upon the same canon of beliefs, they bear a different relation to natural knowledge

¹ Cum ergo principia theologie non sint necque fuerint nobis nota, ut isti concedunt, theologia que acquisitur de communi lege in theologis de qua etiam nunc est sermo non est vere scientia (Prol. q.1. a.4. 6 N).

² By a habit the scholastics understood a disposition or an inclination or a state, either engendered in the soul by the repetition of particular actions or supernaturally infused. Once acquired, a habit helps towards further actions; thus the habit of knowing derives from acts of knowing and, in turn, facilitates new acts of knowing.

³ Uno modo pro habitu vel habitibus, quo vel quibus quis novit sensum sacre scripture, et scit unum dictum eius per aliud exponere et probare, necnon alia que non secundum se formaliter continentur deducere et inferre; et penes hunc modum potest accipi theologia etiam pro actu vel actibus predictorum habituum (Prol. q.2. a.2. 8 L/M).

⁴ Alio modo potest accipi theologia pro assensu tam actuali quam habituali in animo fidelis acquisito per discursum theologicum de obiecto theologico (ibid. M).

⁵ ex qua patebit quod significatum totale conclusionis theologicæ est obiectum theologie acquisite per theologicum discursum (Prol. q.1. a.1. 1 G).

and opinion. Theology, in the first sense, as a habit or state generated by ratiocination, is compatible with actual knowledge, or the habit of knowledge, in one and the same man and over the same object ; that is, it is possible for strictly scientific knowledge and theological knowledge to coexist.¹ But taking theology in the second sense, the act of assent to which it gives rise cannot stand with the act of knowing, nor the state, or habit, of assent stand with the state or habit of natural knowledge. On the other hand the habit or state of one can live with the acts of the other.² In short, where theological assent or conviction is involved there is not room for a corresponding state or act of natural knowledge. This is testimony to what Gregory regards as the exclusive nature of theological truth ; even if rational means can be admitted in elucidating its conclusions, the conclusions themselves must stand alone. Just as we saw that natural knowledge and assent were not synonymous, in the case of theology, they are mutually exclusive.

Opinion, also, has a number of permutations in its relation to theology. When taken to denote probability, it is compatible with theology, both as process of reasoning and as assent. When, however, opinion itself denotes assent, it cannot be joined with theological assent, even though, as in the case of natural knowledge and opinion, an additional act of either does not necessarily drive out the previous habit.³

These distinctions have an important bearing upon the position of theology. They amount to a definition of the boundaries between natural knowledge and opinion, on the one hand, and theology on the other. They show, firstly, that theology, when taken for a body of truths reached by deduction and reasoning, does not conflict with knowledge as such, for they have in common the state, or habit, of knowledge and the actual knowledge which springs from that state. Secondly, however, when theology is regarded as assent to scriptural verities, it can have no meeting place with knowledge, in that there cannot

¹ quod theologia primo modo accepta sive pro actu pro habitu sumatur compossibilis tam habitui quam actui scientie in eodem homine circa idem obiectum (Prol. q.2. a.2. 8 M).

² Ibid.

³ Prol. q.2. a.3. 10 E/10 M.

be both knowledge and belief about the same object.¹ While knowledge signifies an awareness that something exists, faith deals with the unknowable; where knowledge is founded upon the presence of the object known, faith is reserved for that which surpasses understanding.² They are therefore opposed of their very nature; to combine them would be to join knowledge to absence of knowledge—an impossibility.³ Finally, if faith and knowledge were united, their union would persist through the beatific vision, an assertion which contradicts authority, since, once true knowledge has been attained in the next kingdom, faith is no longer necessary.⁴

It is this avowal of the independence, indeed the transcendence, of faith which informs Gregory's attitude to the claim that theology is knowledge in the strict sense. He considers three different views in favour of the scientific or probable nature of theology, each of which he rebuts. The first is that put forward by Pierre Aureole which asserts that there is a "multiple process" by means of which theological truths can be reached from non-theological grounds. It embraces firstly metaphysics by which questions, such as over the divine being, can be broached from already known conclusions—e.g. that God is one; secondly, there are the generally accepted conclusions which can be supported by combining probable and necessary reasons with what is believed; thirdly, there is the process of arguing to conclusions which are exclusively determined by faith.⁵ Since

¹ impossibile est eundem simul scire aliquod obiectum et eidem assensu theologico assentire, cum talis assensus sit quedam credulitas et fides (Prol. q.2. a.2. 8 P).

² et nullum quod quis credit est ei notum, nam nomine fidei sic accepto nihil aliud intelligimus quam assensum non evidentis et non apparentis sed incogniti (ibid. Q).

³ Secundam conclusionem probo ratione communi sic: impossibile est idem obiectum simul esse eidem actualiter notum, et non esse actualiter notum, igitur impossibile est idem obiectum ab eodem simul actu sciri et actu credi (ibid. P).

⁴ Ibid. D/E.

⁵ dicit unus doctor quod in theologia multiplex processus reperitur. Aliquando enim proceditur ad conclusionem scitam vel sciendam, ut cum queritur utrum deus sit unus vel infinitus, et sic de aliis conclusionibus metaphysicis que in theologia tractantur. Aliquando vero proceditur ad conclusionem credendum de qua mundum determinatum est quid tenendum, ut cum queritur utrum spiritus sanctus distingueretur a filio si non procederet ab eo, et huius. Aliquando

only the third way presupposes faith, Gregory concludes firstly that Aureole's view in effect amounts to making theological discussion concerned with probable reasons, and hence theological principles themselves only probable; and secondly that strictly theological conclusions are reached solely by belief.¹ Thus Gregory's position of founding theology on belief but allowing its proposition to be deduced by reasoning is turned upside down. He accordingly rejects Aureole's positions, showing that theology presupposes faith and that any proposition which derives from theological foundations, is theological.

The second view that Gregory combats is that of Francis of Marchia who went to the other extreme of regarding theological knowledge as knowledge in its strict sense. He reaches this conclusion firstly because the truths of faith are not simply believed by the faithful but also known and understood by them:² for belief presupposes knowledge; hence its tenets must be self-evident.³ Secondly, because theology so acquired is knowledge in the strict meaning of the term.⁴ Nevertheless, he adds that faith is still indispensable to theology in order to contain the doubts which would arise from knowledge alone.⁵

Gregory's reply is to deny that all the articles of faith are self-evident, that they constitute knowledge or that they can be *tantum ad conclusionem creditam et determinatam per fidem* (Prol. q.1. a.2. 2 H).

¹ Ex istis patet quod secundum hanc opinionem discursus proprie theologicus est ex propositionibus probabilibus, vel saltem ex altera probabili est ad conclusiones creditas . . . Ex quo dua alia sequuntur. Primum est quod principii theologie sunt tantummodo propositiones probabiles in lumine naturali. Secundum est quod conclusiones proprie theologie sunt sole propositiones credite . . . (ibid. K).

² Primum est quod articuli fidei et eadem ratione que continentur in sacra scriptura, ex quibus velut principiis constant discursus theologi, non tantum sunt nobis credita, sed etiam evidentia et intellecta (Prol. q.1. a.4. 5 H).

³ nullus tenetur indubitanter credere aliquid quod non est sibi per se notum, vel ex per se notis sibi deductum, sed quilibet catholicus tenetur indubitanter credere articulos fidei, ergo illi sunt sibi vel ex per se notis deducti (ibid. 5 I).

⁴ 2^a conclusio, scilicet quod theologia que acquiritur ex tali discursu est scientia proprie dicta, probatur, quia omnis habitus qui innitur medio necessario est proprie scientificus. Theologia est huius (ibid. M).

⁵ . . . necessarius est aliquis habitus inclinans potentiam ne revocetur in dubitum et talis est habitus fidei nostre, que fides non est in infideli . . . (ibid. 5 P).

deduced or demonstrated as self-evident.¹ If scriptural truths were amenable to demonstration, faith would not be necessary for assent to them,² a position which would not only make faith superfluous but throw open revelation to the unbeliever.³ Theology, unlike knowledge, demands assent to belief and owes nothing to natural experience. It is worth repeating that for Gregory faith acts as the bulwark against the infidel; it represents an essentially defensive conception in which the objective is to keep the enemy out of the christian camp rather than to carry the war into his own territory. Of interest also is Gregory's employment of the argument of some of the more extreme sceptics of the period, such as Robert Holcot and Adam of Woodham, that God could reveal falsehood,⁴ to support his own contention that His ways are inscrutable to natural reason. At the same time, Gregory is careful to dissociate himself from such opinions.⁵ Similarly, the influence of the post-Scotist era is evident in Gregory's view that, just because the world and its constitution is contingent, the knowledge derived from it lacks any necessary or eternal foundation. It is of the very nature of knowledge that it deals with what is necessary and, hence, cannot not be.⁶ On all these counts Gregory has no hesitation in

¹ Prima est quod non omnes articuli fidei, nec omnia contenta in sacra scriptura sunt per se noti vel ex per se notis deducti. 2^a quod non omnis propositio enuntians veritatem de articulo est proprie scita vel sciabilis. Ex hac inferitur correlarium quod illud medium, omne revelatum a deo etc., cui totam inniti dicit theologiam non est demonstrativum. 3^a conclusio quod si propositio enuntians veritatem de articulo aut alia veritas sacre scripture esset scita etiam ipse articulus esset scitus vel faciliter posset sciri (ibid. 5 Q).

² Et ex hoc inferam quod talis propositio enuntians veritatem de articulo, aut alia veritate scriptura esset scita, non esset necessaria fides propter assensum illi (ibid.).

³ Primam conclusionem probo, et primo quod non omnis articulus est per se notus, non oportet probare, cum experientia hoc doceat quemlibet viatorem, cui articuli proponuntur. Patet etiam, quia si essent per se note, etiam infidelis sciens quod importatur per nomen et omnem notitiam necessariam ad assensum propositionis per se note habens, quam fidelis habet, ita assentiret sicut et fidelis (ibid. 5 Q/6 A).

⁴ See the writer's *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, chapter XI, for a discussion of their views here.

⁵ Praeterea multi theologi tenet, quamvis non recte . . . etc. (ibid.).

⁶ quia aliqua est contingens, v.g. hec ista propositio deus indicabit mundum, est vera contingens, ergo non est proprie sciabilis . . . quia scientia non est nisi de necessariis et impossibilibus aliter se habere (ibid. B).

dismissing Francis of Marchia's claims that theology is a science.

In the same way he is able to rebut the arguments of St. Thomas Aquinas who had seen theology as "subalternated" knowledge: that is to say, as truths which could be known in the light of a superior awareness. By this view, theology, although having its source in faith, could nevertheless generate knowledge by its own processes of reasoning just as, say, perspective, which presupposes the principles of geometry, is able to constitute a separate branch of knowledge.¹ Gregory replies by recourse to his axiom that knowledge not founded ultimately upon experience is not knowledge.² To proceed, therefore, from principles which are not directly known, as would be the case with subalternation, is to be divorced from knowledge in the first place.³ Hence by this view theology cannot be knowledge. Gregory goes so far as to reject the notion that there is such a thing as subalternated knowledge; it involves, for him, the impermissible leap from indemonstrable principles to a demonstrated conclusion; and we have seen earlier how he rejected Ockham's doctrine that knowledge lay in the conclusion of a demonstration, on these grounds.⁴ Indeed, if knowledge of theology could be acquired without its principles being first known, far from its being subalternated knowledge it would be absolute.⁵ Finally, he denies that there is a valid parallel between theology and other natural knowledge such as, say, perspective; for where the latter is dependent upon previous principles it, too, has no more title to knowledge than theology: as subalternated they all

¹ quia aliqua est contingens, v.g. hec ista propositio deus indicabit mundum, est vera contingens, ergo non est proprie scibilis . . . quia scientia non est nisi de necessariis et impossibilibus aliter se habere (Ibid 6 K/L).

² Ibid.

³ Confirmatur per philosophum primo posteriorum dicentem quod necesse est demonstrativam scientiam originalem esse ex veris et primis et notioribus et prioribus et causis conclusionis. Originatur enim huius scientia ex veris notitiis primis et notioribus, id est evidentioribus et prioribus et causis conclusionis (ibid. M).

⁴ Per hoc patet quod non sufficit principia esse alteri nota, ut ego scientiam habeam de conclusione, quantum per nullum notitiam existentem in alio causari potest immediate et naturaliter aliqua scientia in mente mea (ibid. N).

⁵ Ibid.

rest upon faith.¹ Gregory once more reasserts that the only true proposition is that which denotes what is. The province of faith lies in the unknowable.

Theology as a state of belief has no need of either demonstration or of doubt, but of faith alone.² Far from being superfluous or without purpose, it is instrumental in strengthening faith and defending it against its detractors. How, then, is it constituted? What is its relation to the body of revealed truth as a whole? In short what is the subject matter of theology?

Before asking this question of theology we must first determine how for knowledge, in general, distinct sciences or branches of knowledge, such as geometry, physics, astronomy, and so on, are constituted. Gregory rejects the view, upheld by St. Thomas Aquinas and Henry of Ghent, that there is a single all-embracing habit which differentiates each such body of knowledge, by means of which all the principles and conclusions pertaining to it can be known.³ For Gregory such a doctrine is tantamount to destroying the diversity of which knowledge is made up; it would make individual acts and habits superfluous;⁴ and to incorporate all like knowledge into one single habit would be to strike at the heart of Gregory's position. In a more extreme form, this view resurrected the principle that one aspect of what is known suffices for complete knowledge of it. It therefore denied what Gregory held to be the composite nature of knowledge, in which each part of a demonstration had been reached independently. Accordingly, just as knowledge and principles cannot be reached solely through conclusions,⁵ there cannot be one habit for palpably distinct acts.⁶

¹ Ad primam confirmationem dico, quod non omnis perspectiva est scientia, sed illa dumtaxat que est evidens notitia ex evidenti notitia suorum principiorum immediate vel mediate genita, aut aliqua alia eiusdem rationis quam deus immediate per seipsum vellet causare (ibid. 6 P).

² per nullam enim viam hoc scimus, nisi quia hoc credit ecclesia, et sic audivimus a patribus nostris, et sic in predicta sacra scriptura continetur (ibid. 6 B).

³ Prol. q.3. a.1. 12 A.

⁴ Ibid 12 I.

⁵ Ibid. 120-130 and especially, Dico quod probatio nulla est, quantum non sequitur notitia conclusionis eque necessario preexigit notitiam premissarum (13 O). And:

Et certe ad perfectam notitiam rei non sufficit scire, quia est talis vel talis, sed requiritur ut etiam sciatur propter quid et propter quam causam est talis (ibid. 14 E).

⁶ notitia conclusionis est alia ab illis principiis seu notitiis eorum, vel ab illa,

Since, then, the very diversity of knowledge precludes any single habit, or indeed any one conclusion or principle, from conferring unity upon a body of knowledge, Gregory concludes with Aristotle, that it must derive from the subject.¹ It does so not in a direct sense, but by subalternation ;² that is to say, the subject is the source from which the common principles and conclusions, as aspects of the subject, spring.³ In the case of habits, however, this unity applies only to those which proceed from the same knowledge, as opposed to those which have no connection with acts of knowing.⁴ Just as it is the subject, not habit, which determines the different branches of knowledge, so the same can be said to apply to theology. While there is no single theological habit which embraces all theology,⁵ there is a body of theological principles and conclusions which constitute theology just as there are distinct groupings of knowledge which make up geometry, medicine, physics and so on ;⁶ and from this unity, deriving from the subject, there is a unity of habits.⁷ From this it follows that both knowledge and theology have a special and a general connotation : they can represent a specific

si sit unica notitia utriusque, ergo et habitus ex ea vel sibi simili genitus est alius ab habitu vel habitibus principiorum (ibid. 12 Q-13 A).

¹ Quarumcunque scientiarum est idem genus per se subiecti, et eadem genere prima principia propria, ille sunt una scientia unitate predicta, sed quarumcunque est idem genus per se subiecti, sunt eadem genere prima principia propria . . . quantum si aliquæ scientie de eisdem rebus considerent, non autem secundum unam rationem etc., non dicuntur ad unam scientiam pertinere, verbi gratia de physica et geometria . . . (Prol. q.3. a.2. 14 N-O).

² Prima [conclusio] est quod si conclusionum que dicuntur ad unam scientiam pertinere subiecta sunt unum genere subalterno, et omnium illarum multitudo dicitur una scientia unitate generis subalterni (Prol. q.3. a.2. 14 L).

³ 2^a est quod taliter sunt una scientia illa sole speciales et partiales scientie, qualiter est idem genus per se subiecti (ibid.).

⁴ 3^a quod non quicunque habitus habent idem genus per se subiecti sunt unus tali unitate. Sed quicunque habent idem genus subiecti (ibid.).

⁵ Una [conclusio] est quod non omnium conclusionum theologiarum est unus habitus numero necque specie specialissima (Prol. q.3. a.3. 15 C).

⁶ Secunda conclusio omnium theologiarum conclusionum est una communis theologia, quemadmodum est omnium geometralium una geometria, vel medicinalium una medicina (ibid.).

⁷ Patet consequentia, quia ex unitate principiorum et per unitate subiecti concluditur unitas habitus sepe dicta. (ibid. D).

conclusion or demonstration or they can embody a number of such conclusions all of which share a common subject.¹

The key to the nature of theology, therefore, as to that of any distinct body of principles or knowledge, is its subject. But it is necessary first to define what Gregory understands by subject and the way in which it is related to the knowledge which it subsumes. A subject, says Gregory, can be regarded in one of two ways: for the term in a proposition composed of distinct parts, of which the subject is one and the predicate describing it is the other; or secondly for that which the term represents.² In the same way, the properties of a subject can be taken either for mental terms in a proposition or for the things themselves, for which they stand.³ The subject, both as that for which the term stands and as the term in a proposition, involves actual knowledge of that which is: in the first case it constitutes what is known to be, as for example the line which is divisible into two;⁴ in the second, it is part of the actual knowledge from which the proposition is derived, that is, it exists independently of the conclusion, premises or predicate.⁵ Now the significance of the subject's sovereign independence lies in Gregory's belief that it cannot be inferred from the other parts of a proposition nor that it can in turn provide knowledge of its properties: both subject and properties have to be posited separately; and ultimately knowledge of them is derived from experience.

When we come to consider God as the subject of theology, Gregory distinguishes between theology regarded as a whole⁶ and individual theological propositions. For the former Gregory concurs in the common view that God is its subject; but, with individual propositions, God is the subject only of those which treat directly of Him.⁷ Thus the statement that a creature can

¹ Prol. q.4. a.2 and 3. 16 K and 17 B.

² subiectum potest accipi dupliciter, scilicet pro termino qui subiicitur in propositione habente partes distinctas . . . Et secundo modo pro quo talis terminus in propositione supponit (Prol. q.4. a.1. 16 K).

³ Ibid. 15 H.

⁴ Ibid. 16 K/L.

⁵ Ibid. L/M.

⁶ Ibid. a.2. 17 B/C.

⁷ Est enim subiectum illius, qua aliquid de ipso probatur. Illius autem qua nihil de ipso, sed de alio probatur non est subiectum (ibid. B).

be annihilated, although a theological truth, does not have God for its subject.¹

Now in what way can God be regarded as the subject of theology as a whole? This is a matter of the first importance for Gregory and brings together the two threads from which his entire discussion in the Prologue is woven. They are his view of the composite nature of knowledge, which does not permit unsupported inferences to be regarded as true knowledge, and his belief that theology, as dealing with God's ordinances for this world, can only consider God as creator and not by the untrammelled freedom of His own inscrutable nature. It is by the convergence of these principles that he, as Ockham before him, attacks the Scotist conception of theology. Duns had held that the first subject contained within itself, virtually, a knowledge of the habit of all truths.² He did so on the grounds that the first subject contained immediate propositions from which all truths derived, and that, as first subject, and hence independent of everything else, it must be the source of all subsequent knowledge. This is diametrically opposite to Gregory's contentions; and he replies that whether a subject and its properties are regarded as terms in a mental proposition or as standing for external objects, one does not suppose the other.³ It leads him to reject also Duns's proposition that, because God could be known by recourse to the attributes contained virtually in His nature, God simply as God was the subject of theology, and not God as known through His effects.⁴ As with Ockham, Gregory opposes Duns for controverting the very nature of the subject and of knowledge. To make a subject contain virtually its own properties would mean that it was composed of distinct entities, so that, ultimately, if God so willed, the property

¹ Est enim subiectum illius, qua aliquid de ipso probatur. Illius autem qua nihil de ipso, sed de alio probatur non est subiectum (ibid. B).

² sicut dicit in lectura parisiensi notitiam omnium habitus (ibid.).

³ Prol. q.4. a.1. 15 l.

⁴ Ex hac conclusione ulterius infero quod aliud dictum huius doctoris est falsum, scilicet ratio sub qua vel conceptus sub quo, aliquid est subiectum in aliqua scientia, est contentiva primo virtualiter omnium veritatum illius scientie, unde per hoc probat ipse, quod deus non est subiectum theologie sub aliqua ratione communi . . . nec respectiva ad extra (ibid. 16 G).

could subsist alone. In this way the statement that a line is divisible would lead to the separation of the line from its divisibility, enabling the latter to stand without the former.¹ In fact, such a condition applies neither to God's simple nature, whose attributes bear no external signification, nor to His creatures. To know a man is not thereby to know that he is capable of smiling, any more than the knowledge of rhubarb contains virtual knowledge of its curative properties.² As Gregory has so often reiterated, it is not enough to have direct intuitive knowledge of something in order to know its properties ; the one does not contain the other.³ It is over Duns's failure to observe this rule that Gregory castigates him.

The subject of anything known is not self-explanatory ; it is only one part of a proposition and cannot be taken in isolation from the rest of it. This is the light in which Gregory considers God as the subject of theology. While He is to be regarded as God⁴ this cannot be absolutely,⁵ for God is only knowable to us as the creator. He can therefore be the subject of theology only from the limited purview that we can have of Him ; and in this sense the proper subject of theology is God as He can be glorified by us.⁶ For Gregory, then, the subject of theology cannot be regarded absolutely, both because no subject can stand alone and because God as God is unknowable. Like his predecessor, Giles of Rome, whom he expressly claims to follow here, Gregory saw theology as the outcome of God's ordinances for this world ; although, absolutely, He was able to accomplish anything He willed, such unregulated omnipotence had no bearing upon the ordinances which He had prescribed for creation.

¹ Ex hac conclusione ulterius infero quod aliud dictum huius doctoris est falsum, scilicet ratio sub qua vel conceptus sub quo, aliquid est subiectum in aliqua scientia, est contentiva primo virtualiter omnium veritatum illius scientie, unde per hoc probat ipse, quod deus non est subiectum theologie sub aliqua ratione communi . . . nec respectiva ad extra (ibid. 15^{va} K-L).

² Ibid. 15^{vb} N-Q.

³ Ex his patet quod notitie incomplexae subiecti distincte et predicati non continent primo virtualiter notitiam complexam principii (ibid. 16 D).

⁴ Prima [conclusio] est quod deus inquantum deus est subiectum primum nostre (Prol. q.4. a.2. 17 C).

⁵ 2^a quod non inquantum deus absolute, sed contracte est subiectum (ibid.).

⁶ 3^a quod ratione talis contractionis congrue potest dici quod deus inquantum glorificativus est subiectum theologie nostre (ibid.).

It is Gregory's outstanding trait that, while cognizant of the two orders of God's absolute and ordained powers, He never attempts to make the former obtrude upon the latter. In consequence his view of theology is not threatened by the unpredictability of God's will or by the unknowability of His nature. Theology, true to Gregory's concept of any self-contained body of knowledge, is regulated by certain known principles which derive from its subject, not by their incomprehensibility.¹ This outlook has informed Gregory's treatment of the nature of theology throughout: on the one hand, it has prevented him from making claims for theological knowledge which would take it beyond its own realm of scriptural truth; on the other, it has equally guided him in asserting the knowability of those truths, once they have been accepted on faith. As a result, he is able to stand fairly upon the terrain of revelation without needing to question its findings as beyond our comprehension.² Gregory, then, in contrast to the view held by Duns Scotus, that God in His own right is the subject of theology, deliberately eschews speculation in theology, and amidst the disturbed currents of his age tried to anchor it firmly to faith.

This has a direct bearing upon the final question raised by Gregory in his Prologue: whether theological knowledge is practical or speculative. Again, his main antagonist is Duns Scotus, who regarded practical knowledge as the province of the will under whose guidance what is known is directed to practical ends.³ By this view any knowledge was practical which was amenable to the operations of the will. This divorce between the functions of the intellect and the will is not accepted by Gregory. For him practical knowledge is that which can give

¹ Si deus sub ratione deitatis absolute esset subiectum theologie nostre, deus esset comprehensibilis per theologiam nostram . . . consequens est falsum. Nulla enim notitia, et nullis notitiis creatis vel creabilibus deus comprehendendi potest, alias non veraciter incomprehensibilis crederetur (ibid. 17 D/E).

² Ego autem quia non simpliciter reputo impossibile a deo creari aliquam infinitam notitiam de seipso . . . sed utique impossibile teneo aliquam creari ipsum comprehendentem, sicut omnis fidelis tenet, idcirco ad istud et non ad illud inconueniens deducendo conclusionem probavi (ibid. G).

³ Prol. q.5. a.1. 18 H.

rise to actions and that is practical which is within our own power.¹ It does not involve the performance of a deed, but it presupposes an understanding of its potentialities and so must be the result of complex knowledge.² Conversely knowledge not directed towards a practical end is speculative. One is not distinguished from the other by the subject (that which is known to be) but by the object (the conclusions to be drawn from what is known). Hence practical knowledge is distinguished from speculative knowledge by the end to which it is directed.³ That is to say, according to the way it is regarded, either as something which is simply to be known or as something which is to be acted upon, it is speculative or practical. When we come to the nature of theological knowledge it can be seen that, while individual habits of theological truth can be known speculatively or practically, theology as a whole is practical; for it is directed to the glorification of God.⁴ Although Duns had reached the same conclusion over the practical nature of theology, he did so not from the nature of theological knowledge but from the actions of the will. He did not restrict theological knowledge to regarding God as creator but allowed it to range over the full area of God as absolute in Himself. As with Ockham, though with different consequences, Gregory denies that God can be known in His own right; he reverts to the traditional Augustinian view of theology as leading to the love of God and to confirming faith.

III

From this examination of Gregory of Rimini's Prologue we can see that he considers there to be a sharp demarcation between faith and reason which prevents theology from receiving

¹ quod habitus practicus est ille qui est de obiecto virtualiter continente notitiam directivam operationis voluntatis circa ipsum (ibid. 20 A).

² Ibid. a.2. 19 G.

³ Ibid. a.3. 21 F/G.

⁴ Et pono duas conclusiones. Prima est loquendo de theologia secundum quod est unus habitus unius tantum veritatis, quod aliqua theologia est practica, aliqua est speculativa. Secunda loquendo de theologia ut est unus habitus totalis omnes partiales de omnibus veritatibus theologicis comprehendens . . . theologia inquam sic sumpta est practica (ibid. a.4 B).

the treatment accorded to natural knowledge. He joins Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, Godfrey of Fontaines and William of Ockham, to mention only a few of his immediate forerunners, in returning to the older view of theology as the preserve of the faithful. Yet, as with Duns Scotus and in particular Ockham, he does so largely because of the rigorous standards that he applies to knowledge itself. Verification is its foundation, and in the third distinction of the first book of his Commentary Gregory explicitly adopts, with modifications, Ockham's division into intuitive knowledge and abstractive knowledge. But already in the Prologue he has followed this distinction to show that, while all complex, reflective knowledge needs to be founded upon immediate intuitive knowledge, the latter of itself does not constitute knowledge in the sense of providing a demonstration. Like Ockham, Gregory's insistence that each term must be founded in reality leads him equally to demolish both Duns's view of the subject of theology and the Thomist concept of subalternation. Yet, unlike Ockham, we are not, when reading his Prologue, aware of the same spirit of criticism and destruction. Gregory is far more concerned with clearing away the rubble so that he can erect his own structure, rather than to demolish whatever he sees. Indeed what emerges from his deliberations is a highly traditional conception of theology which is governed strictly by biblical truth. Theology is for the love of God as creator; it is the property of those who believe. Gregory, therefore, conceives theology as a positive pursuit; and already in his eschewal of idle speculation and his insistence upon the spiritual function of theology, we catch a breath of new air, very different from much of the critical atmosphere of his own day.

THE JEWELS OF QUEEN MARGARET OF ANJOU

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THE document printed below is in the nature of an appendix to the sole surviving account of Queen Margaret's household, which was published in Volume 40 (1957-8) of this BULLETIN. In that account was recorded the payment of various sums ¹ to Edward Ellesmere, treasurer of the chamber and master of the jewels of the Queen. The document here printed is Ellesmere's account for the same year, 1452-3; four other jewel accounts for this Queen's household also survive, and are repeatedly compared in the notes with this year's account.²

The "treasurer of the chamber and master of the jewels" was, as the name indicates, an official with a dual function. As keeper of the queen's privy purse his activities were wider than this account would suggest. Whereas he supplied only £30 17s. 1d. for the Queen's private expenses and paid another £60 to the Queen for an unspecified purpose, William Cotton, her receiver-general, provided £566 13s. 4d.³ for the Queen's chamber, and presumably Ellesmere would supervise on her behalf the spending of this sum. But most of the account is concerned with Ellesmere's other function, of master of the jewels, which was of more importance than might appear from a twentieth century standpoint. Credit and banking were much further advanced by the fifteenth century than was formerly realized; but the possession of jewels and silver objects was an important form of investment. Moreover, jewels were prized, not only for their use as savings, but for their social prestige and their appearance. Hence they were much in demand as presents; and as

¹ BULLETIN, xl. 427-8. These sums include the £66 13s. 4d. mentioned at the beginning of the account printed below.

² These accounts, which are for the years 24-25, 25-26, 27-28, 30-31 Henry VI, are indicated in the notes by the abbreviations A24, A25, A27, and A30.

³ BULLETIN, xl. 430.

the offering of gifts on 1 January was a well-established custom,¹ jewels and gold or silver were greatly valued for this purpose. In this showy and hierarchical society the gifts were nicely related to the precise rank and importance of the recipient. Margaret's finances were already in a parlous state, as has already been shown in her household account and the introduction and notes to that ; yet so strong was the social compulsion to make these "year's gifts", and so generous was Margaret towards those whom she wished to placate, reward, or protect, that her list of "year's gifts" was long. As will be seen from the section on the delivery of jewels in the jewel account,² presents of jewels or gold or silver were made to ninety-eight named recipients, without counting the gifts made by the Queen herself with jewels or gold or silver handed to her by Ellesmere for this purpose ; and in addition gifts of bows were made to eighty-nine yeomen, grooms, and pages of her household.

If the gifts to the lowlier members of her household are a tribute to Margaret's generous concern for dependents, the presents at the top end of the scale reflect her growing financial difficulties. In the early years after her arrival in England her presents to important persons had been both more valuable and more numerous. In 1447-8, for example, she had made "year's gifts" to the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Gloucester, the Marquis of Suffolk, his wife, and his son John, the Duchesses of Bedford, Buckingham, Exeter, and Warwick, the Bishops of Norwich, Salisbury and Lichfield and Coventry, the Provost of Eton (William Waynflete), the treasurer and chamberlain of the King's household (Lord Stourton and Lord Say and Sele), Lords Roos, Talbot, and Stanley, Sir William Beauchamp and Sir Robert Harcourt,³ and the treasurer

¹ Although the English year began officially on 25 March until 1752, 1 January "was everywhere in popular estimation associated with the New Year," C. R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates* (London, 1945), p. 4 ; and these gifts were regarded as New Year's gifts. The custom of regarding Christmas as the great season for the giving of presents dates, of course, only from the nineteenth century.

² Below, pp. 6-10.

³ Sir William Beauchamp, who died in 1457, had been a King's carver for many years (*C[alendar of] P[atent] R[olls]*, 1429-1436, p. 267) and had been present at Queen Margaret's coronation in 1445 (J. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*.

of the King's chamber, John Merston, in addition to numerous members of her own household.¹ In 1452-3 only the King, Cardinal Kemp, the Duchess of Somerset, Lord Lisle, John Merston, John Hals, the dean of the King's chapel and the royal almoner, Sir Richard Haryngton, Sir Philip Wentworth, Sir Richard Roos, two Lombards, the sub-treasurer of England and his wife, and the infant son of Sir Robert Harcourt, received regular gifts,² in addition to members of the Queen's household; and the presents were less expensive. This was, however, perhaps fitting in an account which showed a receipt of only £66 13s. 4d. and an expenditure of £613 8s. 8d. with a resulting deficit of £546 15s. 4d., to which had to be added a further deficit of £234 0s. 7½d., carried over from the previous year. It is interesting that, apart from the Queen's gift to the king, the most valuable present to a named recipient was a gold tablet, garnished with pearls, sapphires, and rubies, which was offered at the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. The Virgin's aid would be needed in the gathering storm.

THE ACCOUNT ROLL OF EDWARD ELLESMERE, TREASURER
OF THE CHAMBER AND MASTER OF THE JEWELS OF QUEEN
MARGARET OF ANJOU, FOR THE YEAR 31-32 HENRY VI

[P.R.O. MS. Exchequer—K.R. Wardrobe and Household Accounts. E 101/
410/11].

m. 1

Officium thesaurarij camere et magister iocalium Regine

Compotus Edwardi Ellesmere, thesaurarij camere et magistri iocalium
Margarete Regine Anglie, per literas suas patentes datas viij^o die Junij anno
xxx^{mo} Regis Henrici sexti penes ipsum remanentes, per quas quidem literas

Biographies (1936), p. 55). Sir Robert Harcourt was one of those who had been sent to France in 1445 to escort Margaret of Anjou to England. In 1457 he was still in favour with the Lancastrian government (*C. P. R., 1452-1461*, p. 407) but by 1459 he was denounced as a Yorkist (*Rot. Parl. v.* 368). Edward IV made him a Knight of the Garter in 1462 or 1463 (*W. A. Shaw, The Knights of England* (1906), i. 14) and later used him on important embassies (*C. L. Scofield, Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth* (1923) i. 412-13). He died in November 1470, when John, aged 20, was his son and heir (*Wedgwood, op. cit.* p. 420).

¹ A30, m. 2, under "Liberacio iocalium".

² One can scarcely include the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Wiltshire (below, p. 129), who received only two golden rings worth a mere 4s. 6d. and sent, apparently, only to authenticate a message.

eadem Regina concessit eidem Edwardo officia thesaurarii camere sue et magistri iocalium suorum predictorum, habenda et occupanda a festo Sancti Michelis anno xxx^{mo} dicti Regis Henrici Sexti quamdiu eidem Regine placuerit, videlicet, tam de omnimodis denariorum summis per ipsum causa officiorum predictorum receptis quam de omnimodis solucionibus pro necessarijs et rebus emptis ac priuatis expensis camere Regine, necnon solucionibus forinsecis et empcionibus iocalium et stuffurarum a festo Sancti Michelis anno xxxj^{mo} vsque idem festum Sancti Michelis anno eiusdem Regis xxxij^{do} per vnum annum integrum, vt infra.

Recepta denariorum

Idem reddit compotum de lxxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. receptis de Willelmo Cotton, armigero, generali receptore supradicte Margarete Regine Anglie, super empcionem iocalium ac privatas expensas eiusdem Regine infra tempus predictum ad duas vices, videlicet, vna vice xx^{mo} die Maij dicto anno xxxj^o xxxiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d. et altera vice viij^o die Nouembris supradicto anno xxxij^{do} xxxiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d. per duas indenturas

Summa totalis recepte—————lxxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.¹ De quibus

Private expense

Idem computat in diuersis denariorum summis per ipsum solutis tam pro priuatis expensis camere Regine quam alijs solucionibus forinsecis necnon expensis necessarijs infra dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in rotulo ipsius Edwardi signo manuali ipsius Regine signato vbi omnibuz et singulis parcellarum priuatarum expensarum et solucionum forinsecarum proponuntur "private expense et expense necessarie" in margine super hunc compotum liberacionum.

Summa—————xxx.li.xvij.s.j.d.²

Empciones iocalium

Et in denarijs solutis pro diuersis iocalibuz per ipsum emptis et prouisis pro dicta Regina infra dictum tempus huius compoti, videlicet, Willelmo Porter, aurifabro Londoniae, pro vno salario garnesato cum rubees, perulis, et saphires

¹ A24 records a receipt of £462 from William Cotton, Receiver General of Queen Margaret, by John Norys, then treasurer of her chamber; A 25 shows that next year Norys had £200 from Cotton and £432 7s. 5d. from William Barton for the sale of jewels from the possessions of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who had died so suddenly in February 1447, making a total receipt of £632 7s. 5d. for the year 25-26 Henry VI. Two years later Norys received only £264 12s. 11d. (A27); but Edward Ellesmere, in his first full year as treasurer of the Queen's chamber, had a total receipt of £416 17s. 9d. (A30).

² Private expenses recorded in the other extant accounts of the Queen's treasurers of the chamber are:

A24—£3 12s. 2d.; A25—£37 13s. 5d.; A27—£28 14s. 11d.; A30 £25 6s. 6d.

It would, however, be a mistake to regard these figures as representing the total payments by these treasurers to her privy purse; just as in this account a payment of £60 into the Queen's hands is recorded in a separate section, so A 25 records as a separate item the payment of £200 to the Queen herself, £50 of this being paid to her when the French ambassador was in London.

citryne¹ xxviii.li. ; vno salario auri garnesato cum burellis² rubees et perulis—xxiii.li. ; vno cipro argenti deaurati ponderanti xxv vncias troie, vncia v.s.iii.d.,—vj.li.xii.s.iii.d. ; vno cipro argenti deaurati ponderanti xxv. vncias, vncia vt supra—vj.li.xii.s.iii.d. ; vna zona auri ponderanti iij vncias quarteriam dim. troie, et v.d., vncia xxx.s.,—cj.s.viii.d. ; et Humfrido Hayford aurifabro Londonie pro vna ymagine sancte agnetis auri ponderanti ix marcas j quarteriam troie, vncia vj.s.viii.d.—xxiii.li.xx.d. ; vno pare flaskettes³ argenti deaurati ponderantium iij.lb. ij vncias, vncia vj.s.—xj.li.viii.s. ; vno cipro argenti deaurati ponderanti iij marcas vj vncias troie vncia v.s.iii.d.—viii.li. ; iij paxbredys⁴ argenti deaurati ponderantibus iij marcas dim. vnciam et dim. quarteriam troie, vncia v.s.iii.d.—vj.li.xj.s.iii.d. ; ij chopynnes argenti deaurati ponderantibus ij marcas iij vncias et j. quarteriam troie, vncia vj.s.viii.d.—vj.li.xv.s. ; x chopynnes goderoned⁵ argenti parcellatim deaurati ponderantibus xij marcas et j quarteriam troie cum viii.li.vj.s.viii.d. pro factura et deauracione eorundem, pecia xvj.s.viii.d.—xxj.li.iii.s.iii.d. ; xij chopynnes⁶ argenti vnde le swages⁷ eorundem deaurati ponderantibus xiiij marcas iij vncias troie cum vj.li. pro fabricacione eorundem, pecia x.s.—xxj.li.vj.s.viii.d. ; xliij armillis auri ponderantibus xij vncias iij quarterias, et xj.d., vncia xxx.s.—xix.li.ii.s.vj.d. ; ij armillis auri—xxxj.s.x.d. ; xviiij cocliaribus argenti ponderantibus xj vncias iij quarterias, vj.d., cum iii.d. pro fabricacione cuiuslibet pecie—xxxvij.s.x.d. ; vna rosa puri auri precio—xl.s. ; vno diamond j rubea precio—xvj.s.viii.d. ; vno pare ollarum argenti deaurati precio—lxvj.li.xii.s.iii.d. ; vj ciphis⁸ argenti deaurati cum vno cooperculo ponderanti vij.lb.j vnciam, vncia ij.s.viii.d.—xv.li.vj.s.viii.d. ; vno tabuletto auri garnesato in borduris eiusdem cum x troches⁹ perulis v saphires et v baleys¹⁰ cum vno angelo in medio habenti caput vnus camewe¹¹ et a medio corporis sursum vnum bonum saphirum tenente inter manus suas vnam crucem garnesatam cum vno rubeo et ix perulis orientalibus ponderantibus in toto—xvij.li.vj.s.viii.d.—xxix.li. ; Johanni Wyne pro vno hanger¹² auri garnesato cum vno grosso diamond, vno grosso rubeo orientali

¹ *citryne*, lemon-yellow.

² *burellis*, from *bureall*, byral, beryl, a transparent precious stone of a pale green colour, passing into light-blue, yellow and white, distinguished only by colour from the more precious emerald.

³ *flaskettes*, long, shallow baskets.

⁴ *paxbredys*. A paxbread was a round or rectangular tablet with a projecting handle behind, bearing a representation of the Crucifixion or other sacred subject which was kissed by the celebrating priest at mass, and passed to the other officiating clergy, and then to the congregation, to be kissed.

⁵ *goderoned*, gadrooned, ornamented with a set of convex curves, joined at their extremities to form a decorative pattern ; the reverse of fluting.

⁶ *chopynnes*, chopins, vessels containing about a quart of English wine measure.

⁷ *swages*, ornamental groovings, mouldings, or borders.

⁸ *ciphis*, scyphis, drinking-cups.

⁹ *troches*, troches, ornamental buttons consisting of or set with three or more jewels in a bunch.

¹⁰ *baleys*, balas, a delicate rose-red variety of the spinel ruby.

¹¹ *camewe*, cameo.

¹² *hanger*, a loop or strap on a sword-belt from which the sword was hung, often richly ornamented.

et ij grossis perulis brawnantes ¹—iiiij.li.; vno alio hanger auri garnesato cum vno diamond vno rubee et iij perulis—x.li., sicut continetur in supradicto rotulo

de particulis vbi omnibuz huius parcelle proponitur 'E. io.' in margine—ccciiiij. xvj.li. vj.s.ij.d. Et solutis pro diuersis anulis auri emptis et prouisis pro eadem Regina infra dictum tempus huius compoti, videlicet, pro ij anulis auri vnde vnus precium ij.s.vj.d. et alterius ij.s.—iiiij.s.vj.d.; et ij anulis auri vnde j garnesato cum vno diamond—xliij.s.iiiij.d.; et vno anulo auri empto per Bircheley ij.s., sicut continetur in rotulo predicto de particulis vbi omnibuz huius parcelle proponitur hoc signum 'E. anul.' in margine—xlviij.s.x.d. Et solutis pro diuersis colariis emptis et prouisis ex mandato Regine infra tempus predictum, videlicet, Humfrido Hayford pro vno colario auri de essis ² ponderanti j. vnciam, precio xliiiij.s.vij.d.; vno colario auri ponderanti iij vncias iij quarterias, vncia xxx.s.—cxij.s.vj.d.; vno colario auri de essis ponderanti ij vncias dim. precio—lxxv.s.; vno colario de tissewe cum essis argenti, precio vj.s.viiij.d. sicut continetur in eodem rotulo de particulis vbi huius parcelle proponitur hoc signum 'E.col.' in margine—xj.li.xviiij.s.ix.d. Et solutis pro vno box argenti deaurati enameld pro nuncio Regine, sicut continetur in vna cedula signo manuali dicte Regine signata rotulo predicto annexata—xxvj.s.viiij.d.

Summa—cccc.xij.li.v.d.³

Empcio arcuum pro annuis donis

Et solutis Willelmo Bower de London pro diuersis arcubuz ab ipso emptis infra dictum tempus huius compoti, videlicet, xliij arcubus, precio pecie iij.s.—vj.li.ix.s., et pro xlvi arcubus, precio pecie ij.s.iiiij.d.—cvij.s.iiiij.d. sicut continetur in supradicto rotulo de particulis vbi omnibuz huius parcelle proponitur hoc signum "E arc." in margine—xj.li.xvj.s.iiiij.d.

Summa—xj.li.xvj.s.iiiij.d.⁴

Reparacio iocalium

Et in reparacione renouacione et emendacione certorum iocalium dicte

¹ *brawnantes*. The meaning of this is obscure. The word is probably derived from "brown", which could at this time have the form "brawn". If so, it might have one of two older meanings of "brown", i.e. either burnished, glistening, shining, or dusky, dark.

² *esses*. The collar of linked SS was a favourite Lancastrian symbol; for references to the various explanations of its meaning, see J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, iv (1898), 116-17; J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, i (1914), 2; ii (1919), 142.

³ In A24, A25, A27 the sums of £380 3s. 9d., £1,119 14s. 0d., and £635 13s. 6½d. respectively were spent on jewels; these figures included the cost of repairs. In the next extant account, A 30, the first after Edward Ellesmere's appointment as treasurer of the Queen's chamber, the cost of the purchase of jewels is given as £405 2s. 6½d., and the expenditure on the repair of jewels (65s.) appears in a separate paragraph.

⁴ In the five extant accounts of Margaret's treasurers of her chamber, this is the only one which records the purchase of bows for distribution, though in the year 25-26 Henry VI thirty-two sheaves of arrows were brought for this purpose, at a cost of £5 17s. 0d.

Regine infra tempus huius compoti, videlicet, Humfrido Hayford pro emendacione vnus tripe¹ auri pro tabula Regine—iiij.s.iiij.d.; eidem Humfrido pro vno plate argenti deaurati per ipsum facta pro fundo vnus peluis ponderanti iiij vncias dim. et dim. quarterie xij.s.iiij.d.; reparacione diuersarum ollarum hoc anno per diuersas vices—xxiiij.s.; fabricacione iiij salariorum argenti parcellatim desuper deaurati ponderantium vij marcas vij vncias dim. de stuffura v bolles argenti de Roone² ponderantium vij marcas ij vncias j quarteriam, parcella iocalium Regis datorum Regine et sibi liberatorum per manus Johannis Merston nuper thesaurarij camere eiusdem domini Regis et magistri iocalium suorum xlvj.s.viiij.d.; firmacione vnus lingue in le serpentyne, iiij.d.; emendacione et deauracione vnus salarij argenti deaurati defracti de parte dictorum iocalium Regine per manus dicti Johannis Merston liberatorum xx.s.; emendacione cooperculi vnus aquarie deaurate iiij.s.; emendacione vnus canille³ in le serpentyne saler, xvj.d.; emendacione candelabri closetti Regine iiij.s.; Johanni Otte aurifabro pro fabricacione vnus hanger vnus device garnesato cum vno grosso diamond et vno grosso orient rubee positus in vno panse⁴ xx.s.; nova imposicione de ij diamondis et vnus rubee in vno colario de nouo pro Regina empto ac pendicione xij rubeorum et xij perularum super eundem xviiij.s.; et dicto Humfrido Hayford pro emendacione ij pysunse⁵ iiij.s.iiij.d.; posicione et le setting de ix zonis xxx.s.; emendacione trium cofrarum auri xviiij.s.viiij.d.; sculptura et enamelyng ij plates pro dictis ollis argenti deaurati, precio lxvj.li. xiiij.s.iiij.d., iiij.s.iiij.d.; fabricacione vij plates et vij disshes xx.s.; sculptura vnus duodene vasorum argenti xij.s.; fabricacione et deauracione le box Johannis Messenger, nunciij Regine, de nouo xx.s., et fabricacione magnorum lynkes auri ad magnam cathenam auri cum vno hamo pro Regina ponderantium j vnciam j quarteriam, precio vncie xxx.s., xxxvij.s.vj.d., sicut continetur in supradicto rotulo de particularis vbi omnibuz huius parcelle proponitur hoc signum 'rep. io.' in margine—xv.li.xiiij.s.ij.d.

Summa—xv.li.xiiij.s.ij.d.

Dona et regarda

Et in denarijs solutis diuersis personis subscriptis differentibus anni dona Regine hoc anno de regardo sibi facto festo Circumsicionis domini infra tempus compoti, videlicet, seruienti Ducis Somerset lxvj.s.viiij.d.; seruienti domini Cardinalis Anglie lxvj.s.viiij.d.; seruienti Ducisse Exonie liij.s.iiij.d.; seruienti Ducis Eboraci lxvj.s.viiij.d.; seruienti Ducisse Suffolke liij.s.iiij.d.; seruienti Episcopi Wyntoniensis liij.s.iiij.d.; seruienti Comitis Wigorn' liij.s.iiij.d.;⁶

¹ tripe, tripod, trivet.

² Roone, Rouen.

³ canilla, tube or pipe. The salt-cellars of this period could, of course, be very elaborate.

⁴ panse, claw, claw-setting.

⁵ pysunse, pysans, peosun, peas. Often used as a standard in comparison of size; cf. the example given in *O.E.D.* from Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*: "Men fynden summe [dyamandes] as grete as a pese". Hence the word was used of precious stones the size of peas.

⁶ The gifts to servants of other great persons who sent New Year's presents, as recorded in the other four corresponding accounts of Queen Margaret are as follows:

A24: servants of the Duke of Gloucester and the Archbishop of Canterbury. 66s. 8d. each; of the Duke of York, the Duchesses of Bedford, Buckingham, and

et seruienti Rose Merston xiiij.s.iiij.d. sicut continetur in rotulo predicto ubi omnibuz huius parcelle proponitur hoc signum 'do. et re.' in margine,—xxj.li. vj.s.vij.d. Et in consimilibus denarijs solutis diuersis personis subscriptis de speciali regardo sibi nomine annidonis (sic) facto per prefatam Reginam infra dictum tempus huius compoti, videlicet, Johanni Norrys armigero nomine xx.li. ; Edwardo Ellesmere vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. ; Johanni Walssh et Nicholao Sharp iiij.li ; Davido Lloid, magistro coco pro ore Regine, xl.s. ; Ricardo Bulstrode xxviiij.s. iiij.d. ; Thome Babham xx.s. sicut continetur in dicto rotulo de particularis signato in margine vt supra—xxxv.li.xx.d.¹ Et in denarijs solutis quibusdam herawdes et ministrallis domini Regis festo Natalis Domini hoc anno de regardo sibi facto per prefatam Reginam, videlicet, vtrique eorum lxxvj.s.vij.d.—vj. li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.² Et solutis dicto Edwardo Ellesmere, computatori, de quodam speciali regardo sibi per prefatam Reginam hoc anno facto, causa memoracionis antiqui feodi officij predicti nuper xx.li. per annum, videlicet, pro hoc anno et anno proxime precedenti, vtraque anno lxxvj.s.vij.d.——vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.

Summa———lxix.li.xv.s.

m. 2.

Feodum computatoris

Et in feodo dicti Edwardi Ellesmere thesaurarij camere Regine et magistri iocalium suorum cui dicta Regina concessit officia predicta, habenda et occupanda quamdiu eidem Regine placuerit per literas eiusdem Regine patentes datas viij^o die Junij anno xxx^{mo} dicti Regis Henrici sexti superius in titulo huius compoti

Exeter, 53s. 4d. each ; of the Abbot of Abingdon, £2, and of Lady Saye and Sele, 26s. 8d. A25 : servant of the Duke of York, 100s; of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duchesses of Bedford and Buckingham, 66s. 8d. each ; of the Bishop of Salisbury and the Duchess of Exeter, 53s. 4d.; of the Queen's chancellor, 26s. 8d. A27 : servants of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal of York, the Duchesses of Bedford, Buckingham, Exeter, Yorks, and a name which damp has washed away, 66s. 8d. each ; of the Countess of Northumberland, 60s.; of the Bishop of Chichester, an illegible figure ; of the chancellor of France, 46s. 8d.; and of the Queen's chancellor, 40s. A30 : servants of the Cardinal of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, the Duchesses of Bedford and Somerset, 66s. 8d. each ; of the Bishop of Winchester and the Duchess of Exeter, 53s. 4d. each ; of the Earl of Wiltshire, 40s.

¹ Edward Ellesmere's name is included in all five accounts in this section, that of David Lloyd twice (A25, A30), that of Thomas Babham once, and those of Richard Bulstrode, John Walsh and Nicholas Sharp not at all. The household officials to whom the Queen gave gifts or rewards, as noted in this section, varied much from year to year ; and Richard Bulstrode (master of the Queen's revels, BULLETIN xl. 422) and John Walsh and Nicholas Sharp (auditors of the Queen, *ibid.*, xl. 414-15) had already received equally valuable gifts of jewels from her in previous years (A27, two gold bracelets worth £4 8s. 0d. to Walsh and Sharp ; A30, a sword harness worth 28s. 4d. to Bulstrode).

² These were customary payments to heralds and minstrels and occur in all five accounts. A25 and A27 also record payments of £5 and £2 to clerks of London (clericis London') who played before the Queen on Christmas Day.

annotatas ————— xiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d.
Summa ————— xiiij.li.vj.s.viiij.d.¹

Liberacio denariorum ad manus Regine

Et in denarijs liberatis ad manus dicte Margarete Regine Anglie ad diuersas vices infra tempus compoti, vt patet per supradictum rotulum de particularis inter alia signo manuali ipsius Regine signatum inter memoranda huius compoti remanentem ————— lx.li.

Summa ————— lx.li.

Summa omnium empcionum, solucionum, expensarum, et liberacionum predictorum ————— Dcxiiij.li.viiij.s.viiij.d.²

Et habet superplusagium ————— Dxlvi.li.xv.s.iiij.d.

Et allocatur ei ccxxxiij.li.vij.d.ob. de quodam superplusagio in compoto suo de anno proxime precedenti habito.

Et sic habet in superplusagio —————^{xx} Dcciiij.li.xv.s.xj.d.ob.²

¹ Whereas John Norys, Ellesmere's predecessor, had been allowed a fee of £20 in each of his three extant accounts (A24, A25, A27), Ellesmere's first extant account (A30) shows, like this one, a fee of £13 6s. 8d. The last sentence of the previous paragraph shows that a special reward was made to him in both years, in consideration of the higher fee formerly; but Norys had regularly enjoyed a "reward" of £10 in addition to his fee of £20. The fee may have been reduced as an economy measure in view of the large deficits which, as the next note shows, had been accumulating during John Nory's tenure of the office of treasurer of the Queen's chamber; but James Fynaunce, who had succeeded Edward Ellesmere as clerk of the jewels, was in this year, 31-32 Henry VI, paid the same fee as Ellesmere had been in that office—£6 13s. 4d. (BULLETIN, xl 408; A24, A25, A27).

² The total expenses recorded in the four other extant accounts are:

A24. Expenses £493 3s. 3d. "Superplusagium" (i.e. balance due to the accountant, or deficit on the working of the account), £31 12s. 3d.

A25. Expenses £1,532 3s. 9d. "Superplusagium", £931 18s. 7d.

A27. Expenses £749 1s. 11½d. "Superplusagium" £484 8s. 10½d. There was a "superplus" or deficit from the previous year still outstanding at the year-end of £302 1s. 0d., making a total balance due to the treasurer of £786 9s. 10½d.

A30. Expenses £650 18s. 4d. "Superplusagium" £234 7s. 0½d.

This last "superplus", added to the "superplus" of the year of A31, made a total deficit, as we see from the text, of £780 15s. 11½d. Shortly after the close of this last account, on 4 November, 32 Henry VI, the Queen made a warrant for the payment to Ellesmere of £838 1s. 2½d.; but by the following July only £673 3s. 1d. of this sum had been paid (BULLETIN, xl. 428). Hence, even if the whole of the payments had been devoted to reducing the deficit, over £100 of "superplus" would have remained at nearly the end of another financial year; and as some of the £673 must have been used for current expenses, the deficit must have remained considerably greater than £107. In the account for 25-26 Henry VI (A25), the outstandingly high figure for total expenses was due to more lavish expenditure on all items, but especially on the purchase of jewels (£1,119 14s. 0d.) and a payment of £200 to the Queen in addition to £37 13s. 5d. for her private expenses.

Recepta iocalium de remanentijs

Idem reddit compotum de—vno par ollarum argenti deaurati cum Sampson^{xx}e super leonem et draconem, precio ^{xx}iiij.xiiij.li.xjs.viiij.d. ; vno magno par ollarum argenti deaurati, precio xxxix.li.xij.s.vj.d. ; vno goorde ¹ argenti deaurati ponderanti xvj. vncias quarteriam et dim., precio lxxj.s.iiij.d. ; vna armilla auri de numero vij armillarum auri ponderantium inter se ij vncias anno xxvj^{to} emptarum, precio lvij.s.vj.d. ; vna armilla auri de parte iiij^{or} armillarum auri ponderantium inter se ij vncias j.d. troie, precio xl.s.viiij.d. ; vno salario argenti de parte ij salariorum argenti sine cooperculis ponderantibus inter se xj vncias et dim. quarterie, precio xl.s.viiij.d. ; iiij ciphis deauratis de parte xiiij ciphorum deauratorum ponderantium in toto xxviiij lb.v.vncias dim., precio ^{xx}iiij.v.li.vij.s.vj.d. ; vno anulo auri de parte iiij^{or} anulorum auri, precio in toto lxxix.s. ; ij flaskettes argenti deaurati, precio vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. ; vno hanger auri garnisato eum j diamond et grossis perulis, precio x.li. ; et vno anulo auri de parte xlvij anulorum auri anno precedenti emptorum, precio in toto vj.li. ; x.s.vij.d. receptis de remanentijs iocalium de anno proxime precedenti.

[In the right hand margin against the above paragraph] :

j par ollarum argenti deaurati, j par ollarum argenti deaurati, j goorde argenti deaurati, ij armille auri, j salarium argenti, iiij ciphi deaurati, ij anuli auri, ij flaskettes argenti deaurati, j hanger auri.

Recepta iocalium et aliorum de empcone

Et de—vno salario auri garnisato cum rubies perulis et saphires citryne, precio xxviiij.li ; vno salario auri garnisato cum burellis, rubies, et perulis, precio xxiiij.li. ; vno cippo argenti deaurati ponderanti xxv vncias troie, precio vj.li. xiiij.s.iiij.d. ; vno cippo argenti deaurati ponderanti xxv vncias, precio vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. ; vna ymagine sancte agnetis ponderanti ix marcas j quarteriam, precio xxiiij.li.xx.d. ; vno pare flaskettes argenti deaurati ponderantibus iiij.lb.ij vncias, precio xj.li.viiij.s. ; vno cippo argenti deaurati ponderanti iiij marcas vj vncias troie, precio viij.li. ; iiij paxbreds argenti deaurati ponderantibus iiij marcas dim. vncie et dim. quarterie troie, precio vj.li.xj.s.iiij.d. ; ij chopynes argenti deaurati ponderantibus ij marcas iiij vncias et j quarteriam troie precio vj.li.xv.s. ; x chopynes goderoned parcellatim deauratis ponderantibus in toto xij marcas et j quarteriam troie precio xxj.li.iiij.s.iiij.d. ; xij chopynes argenti vnde le swages deaurati ponderantibus in toto xiiij marcas iiij vncias troie, precio xxj.li.vj.s.viiij.d. ; xliij armillis auri ponderantibus xij vncias iiij quarterias et xij.d., precio xix.li.iiij.s.vj.d. ; ij armillis auri, precio xxxij.s.x.d. ; xviiij cocliaribus ponderantibus xj vncias iiij quarterias vj.d., precio xxxvij.s.x.d. ; vna rosa auri precio xl.s. ; vno diamond et vno rubie precio xvj.s.viiij.d. ; vno pare ollarum argenti deaurati precio lxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. ; vj ciphis argenti deaurati cum vno cooperculo ponderantibus vij.lb. j vnciam, precio xv.li.vj.s.viiij.d. ; vno box argenti deaurati enameld, precio xxvj.s.viiij.d. ; vno tabuletto auri garnisato in borduris eiusdem cum x troches (sic) perularum, v saphires et v baleys cum vno angelo in medio, habenti caput vnus camewe et in medio sursum vnum bonum saphirum et tenenti inter manus suas vnam crucem garnisatam cum vno rubie et ix perulis

¹ goorde. The "shell" or whole rind of a gourd dried and scooped out could be used as a water-bottle ; hence the word "gourd" came to mean "a bottle or cup of any material".

orientis ponderanti in toto xvij.li.vj.s.viii.d., precio xxix.li.; vno hanger auri de deuyse garnisato cum vno grosso diamond et vno grosso orient rubie posito in vno panse, precio (sic); vno hanger auri garnisato cum vno grosso

diamond, vno grosso rubie orientis et ij grossis perulis brawnantes, precio iiij.li.; vno alio hanger auri garnisato cum vno diamond, vno rubie et iiij perulis, precio x.li.; vna zona auri ponderanti iiij vncias et dim. troie et v.d., precio cj.s.viii.d.; et iiij salarijs argenti parcellatim desuper deaurati ponderantibus vj marcas vij vncias dim. hoc anno factis de v bolles argenti de Roone, precio (sic), receptis de empcone hoc anno vt supra.

[In the right hand margin against the above paragraph]:

ij salarii auri, ix cipi argenti deaurati cum cooperculo, j zona auri, j ymago sancte agnetis auri, j par flaskettes argenti deaurati, iiij paxbredis argenti, ij chopynes argenti deaurati, ij chopynes goderoned argenti parcellatim deaurati, xij chopynes argenti vnde le swages eorundem deaurati, xlv armille auri, xviiij cocliares argenti, j rosa puri auri, j diamond et j rubee, j par ollarum argenti deaurati, j tabulettus auri, ij hangers auri, j box argenti deaurati enameld, iiij salarij argenti parcellatim desuper deaurati.

Et de j anulis auri vnde j precio iiij.s.vj.d. et alterius ij.s.; ij anulis auri vnde j garnisatus cum vno diamond precio xliij.s.iiij.d. et vno anulo auri precio ij.s., receptis de empcone vt supra——v anuli auri.

Et de vno colario auri de esses ponderanti j vnciam, precio xliij.s.vij.d.; vno colario auri ponderanti iiij vncias iiij quarterias, precio lxxij.s.vj.d.; vno colario auri ponderanti de esses ponderanti ij vncias dim., precio lxxv.s. et vno colario de tissewe cum esses argenti, precio vj.s.viiij.d., receptis de empcone vt supra——iiij colarij auri, j colarium de tissewe.

Et de xliij arcubuz, pecia ad iiij.s., precio vj.li.ix.s.; et xlvj arcubuz, pecia ij.s.iiij.d., precio cvij.s.iiij.d., similiter receptis de empcone hoc anno vt supra

xx
iiij.ix.arcus.

Summa iocalium predictorum et aliorum tam de remanentijs quam de empcone ————— vt supra.

m. 3.

Liberaciones iocalium et aliorum

Idem computat se liberasse diuersa iocalia subscripta tam domine Regine ad manus proprias quam diuersis dominis dominabuz (sic), generosis ac alijs ex mandato dicte Regine ad anni dona sua festo Circumsicionis Domini et specialia regarda infra dictum tempus huius compoti, videlicet:

Domino Regi—vnum par ollarum argenti deaurati—precio lxxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.¹

¹ The Queen's New Year gift to the King varied much in value. In A24 no gift is recorded, though she gave one that year to her father, described as "the King of Sicily"; in A25 a present of a pair of silver-gilt bowls was valued at £58 6s. 8d.; A27 lists a present of a golden salt-cellar worth altogether, with its balas ruby, £101 (but all expenditure was lavish this year); A30 does not mention a gift to the King.

Domine Regine
ad manus prop-
rias super obla-
cione sua apud
Walsingham ¹

vnum tabulettum auri garnisatum in
borduris eiusdem cum x trochis perul-
larum, v saphires, et v baleys cum vno
angelo in medio, habenti caput vinus
camewe et in medio eiusdem sursum
vnum bonum saphirum et tenenti
inter manus suas vnam crucem garn-
isatam cum vno rubie et ix perulis
orientis.

precio
xxix.li

Eidem domine
Regine ad
manus suas
proprias ²

Vnum hanger auri garnisatum cum
vno grosso diamond, vno grosso rubie
orientis et ij grossis perulis brawnantes
Vnum hanger auri garnisatum cum j
diamond, vno rubie, et ij perulis
ij anulj auri, vnde j garnisatus cum
vno diamond
Vnum hanger de deuyse auri garnisa-
tum cum vno grosso orient rubie
posito in vno panse
Vnum diamond et vnum rubie

precio iiij.li

precio x.li.

precio xliij.s.
iiij.d.

precio xx.s.

precio xvj.s.viiij.d.

Eidem Regine per manus Barbalyne, ³ vnam zonam auri
ponderantem iij vncias quarteriam et dim.

precio cj.s.viiij.d.

Eidem Regine per manus Bircheley, ⁴ vnum anulum auri—precio ij.s.

Domino
Cardinali ⁵

{ vnamy maginem sancte agnete ponderantem
ix marcas j quarteriam

precio xxiiij.li
xx.d.

Ducisse
Somerset ⁶

{ vnum salarium auri garnisatum cum
rubies perulis et saphires citryne

precio xxviiij.li

¹ No offering at Walsingham is recorded in the other four accounts.

² Unlike A24, A25, A27, A30 and A31 both record the deposit in the Queen's own hand of various jewels, presumably to be kept or given away by her privately as she thought fit.

³ For further particulars of Barbelina Herbequyne, see BULLETIN, xl. 405 and note 1 there.

⁴ Richard Bircheley, a groom of the Queen's chamber (ibid., xl. 410).

⁵ The Queen gave a New Year's present of jewels to the Archbishop of Canterbury as early as 1447, but not to John Kemp, Cardinal Archbishop of York, until 1452 when, however, he received an image of St. Margaret worth £25 2s. 4d., compared with the gift of a sapphire worth a mere £7 to the Archbishop of Canterbury (A25, A30). Now Canterbury disappears from the list; he died in May 1452, and perhaps he was already clearly declining to his grave.

⁶ New Year's gifts had usually been made to more persons of ducal rank.

A24, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duchesses of Buckingham and Suffolk.

A25, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duchesses of Bedford, Buckingham, Exeter, and Warwick.

A27, the Duke of Suffolk, the Duchesses of Buckingham and Exeter.

A30, the Duke of York, the Duchesses of Bedford, Exeter, and Somerset.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Domino | { vno par flaskettes argenti deaurati | { precio xj.li.viii.s. |
| Lysle ¹ | { ponderantium iij.lb. ij vncias | |
| Johanni | { vnum salarium auri garnisatum cum | { precio xxiiij.li |
| Wenlok, ² militi | { burellis, rubies, et perulis | |
| Andree | { vnum ciphum argenti deaurati | { precio vj.li. |
| Ogard, ² militi | | { xiiij.s.iiij.d. |
| Barbalyne ³ | { vnum ciphum argenti deaurati | { precio vj.li.xiiij.s. |
| | | { iiij.d. |
| Domine de | { vnum hanger auri garnisatum cum j | { precio x.li |
| Scalys ⁴ | { grosso diamond et grossis perulis | |
| Domine | { vnum par flaskettes argenti deaurati | { precio vj.li. |
| Elizabeth | | { xiiij.s.iiij.d. |
| Wenlok ⁵ | | |
| Johanni | { vnum ciphum argenti deaurati | { precio viij.li. |
| Merston ⁶ | | |
| armigero | | |
| Decano capelle Regis, magistro | { iij paxbredes argenti | { precio vj.li. |
| Johanni Hals et elemosinario | { deaurati ponderantes | { xj.s.iiij.d. |
| Regis ⁷ | { iij marcas dim. vnciam | |
| | { et dim. quarterie troie | |

The values of the presents given to dukes and duchesses had also usually been greater in these four earlier accounts.

¹ There had usually been gifts to more than one peer of less than ducal rank ; and A25, A27, A30 each record presents to bishops—as many as three in 1448-9 (i.e. the Bishops of Salisbury, Winchester, and Chester, i.e. William Ayscough, confessor to Henry VI, William of Waynflete, who had received New Year's gifts in 1445-6 and 1446-7 as Provost of Eton, and William Bothe, formerly chancellor to the Queen).

² See BULLETIN, xl. 403, and the latest and most detailed biography of Wenlock by J. S. Roskell, in *Bedford Historical Record Society Publications*, xxxviii (1958), 12-48, which provides a valuable reassessment of his career.

³ See BULLETIN, xl. 405.

⁴ See *ibid.*, xl. 404.

⁵ Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Drayton (Roskell, *op. cit.* p. 15).

⁶ John Merston had been treasurer of the King's chamber and keeper of the King's jewels since before 1445 (*Foedera*, v, i. 139) and probably gave up the post at Easter 1453 (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 293).

⁷ The dean of the royal chapel was William Say (BULLETIN, xl. 422).

John Hals or Hales was a clerk who was already Archdeacon of Norfolk, (J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, rev. T. D. Hardy (1854), II. 484) and was soon to become Archdeacon of Norwich, thanks to the Queen's exertions (see below ; Le Neve, *op. cit.* ii. 480). In 1456 he was recommended for the bishopric of Exeter but withdrew (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 281) and in 1459 he was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield (F. M. Powicke, *Handbook of British Chronology* (1939), p. 154).

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Elizabethe, Domine de Say, et Edmundo Hungerford, militi ¹ | { ij chopynes argenti de- aurati ponderantes ij marcas iiij vncias et j quarteriam troie } | precio vj.li.xv.s. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Magistre Marie, Domine Elizabeth Grey, Domine Elizabeth Dacres, Domine Margarete Roos, Rose Merston, Margarete Stanlowe, Ricardo Haryngton militi, Philippo Wentworth militi, Ricardo Roos, militi, et magistro Johanni Faceby ² | { x chopynes goderoned parcellatim deauratos ponderantes xij marcas et j quarteriam troie } | precio xxj.li. iiij.s.iiij.d. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|

The almoner to the King was Henry Sever, who had been collated to the chancellorship of St. Paul's in April 1449; his appointment was ratified in September 1450 (Le Neve, op. cit. ii. 360; *C.P.R. 1446-1452* p. 401).

¹ As a Lady Saye received a New Year's gift from the Queen right from 1446, it is likely that the Lady Saye here mentioned is the widow of the first Lord Saye and Sele, murdered in 1450 during Jack Cade's rebellion, in spite of the fact that the Complete Peerage gives her name as Emiline (*C.P.* (new edn.) xi. 481). A30 also gives her name as Elizabeth. The wife of the second Lord Saye was called Margaret (*ibid.* p. 482). Cf. *C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 537 for a grant for life to Elizabeth Say for good service to the King, Queen, and Edward, Prince of Wales.

Sir Edmund Hungerford, member of a family which had done the Lancastrians much service, held, amongst other appointments, the office of King's carver for over twenty years (*C.P.R. 1436-1441*, p. 72; *C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 350).

² Mistress Mary is probably to be identified with a Marion who appears in earlier accounts as "Mariona, Puella Regine" (A 24) and "Parva Mariona" (A 25, A 27). Lady Elizabeth Grey, Lady Elizabeth Dacres, Lady Margaret Roos were three of the Queen's "ladies-in-waiting" (*BULLETIN*, xl. 404). Rose Merston and Margaret Stanlowe were two of the Queen's "damsels" (*ibid.*, xl. 405; cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, i. 44 for "the Chamberers or Queen's Women" of Queen Elizabeth I).

Sir Richard Haryngton or Harington was controller of the King's household (J. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies 1439-1509* (1936), p. 425; *R.P.* v. 318), and Sir Philip Wentworth was esquire for the body to the King (*C.P.R. 1446-1452*, pp. 283, 330) and subsequently King's carver (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, pp. 536, 592); for Sir Richard Roos see *BULLETIN*, xl. 423.

Master John Faceby was one of the King's physicians (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, pp. 147, 398) and an alchemist (*ibid.* p. 291); he had received a gift of a purse and a gold ring the previous year (A30) and was probably Margaret's physician as well.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Alianore Roos, Katerine Whityngham, Katerine Penyson, Agnete Parr, Matilde Lowys, Jamoni Sharnebourne, Edithe Burgh, Osanne, Margarete Chaumberleyn, magistro Ade sirurgico, Johanni Penycok, et Thome Burneby ¹ | { xij chopynes, vnde le swages deaurati, pon- derantes xiiij marcas iij vncias troie } | precio xxj.li. vj.s.viiij.d. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Thome Wode, subthesaurario Anglie | { vj ciphos cum vno coop- perculo parcellatim deaurato ponderantes vij.lb. j vnciam } | precio xv.li.vj.s. viij.d. |
| vxori eiusdem Thome ² | { vnum colarium auri de esses ponderantem iij vncias dim. } | precio xv.li. vj.s.viiij.d. |

Edwardo Hull militi ³ {vnam rosam puri auri} precio xl.s.

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Osanne ⁴ | { vnum colarium auri de esses ponderantem j vnciam quarteriam dim. vnum colarium auri ponderantem iij vncias iij quarterias } | precio xliiij.s. vij.d. precio cxij.s.vj.d. |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|

¹ Eleanor Roos, Katherine Whityngham, Katherine Penyson, Agnes Parr, Matilda Lowys, Jamona Sharnebourne, Edith Burgh, Osan, are eight more of the Queen's "damsels" (BULLETIN, xl. 405).

Margaret Chaumberleyn or Chamberlain, Adam the surgeon, and John Penycok, or Penycoke, esquire, had received gifts of money the previous year (A30), and New Year's presents to Penycok are recorded in two previous accounts (A27, A30). For Penycok see also BULLETIN, xl. 112.

Thomas Burneby was one of Margaret's squires (ibid. xl. 406).

² In the previous year's jewel account the under-treasurer of England had received a gift of money, £14 (A30).

"Thomas" is a mistake for "John" (R.P. v. 335-6; Wedgwood, op. cit. pp. 965-6). He married Elizabeth, sister of Margaret Mitchell.

³ For particulars of the career of Edward Hull, one of the Queen's carvers, see BULLETIN, xl. 403, and "Sir John Fastolf's Lawsuit over Fitchwell, 1448-1455" by P. S. Lewis, *The Historical Journal*, i. 1-20, esp. pp. 3-4 and 18-19.

⁴ Osan, one of the Queen's "damsels", was a Burgundian who had come to England with Queen Margaret (BULLETIN, xl. 405-6).

Ricardo Drayton, Egidio Seintlowe, Thome Sharnebourne, Edmundo Clere, Thome Parker, Thome Seintbarbe, Johanni Fetiplace, Roberto Chicheley, Waltero Leukenore, Seuacr' de la Bere, Johanni Bassyngbourne, Henrico Roos, Johanni Gilbert, Roberto Monteney, Humfrido Stafford, Roberto Maryfeld, Davido Lloid, Johanni Cristemasse, Thome Roche, Edwardo Hungerford, Johanni Cornewail, Thome Stanlowe, Johanni Seintbarbe, Georgio Assheby, Willelmo Crosseley, Jaquetto Prynce, Johanni Hattecliff, Thome Normanton, Thome Fulford vno de henxmen Regine, Ricardo Castell, Willelmo Nanseglos clerico recepte, Ricardo Croke clerico registrario cancellarie, Johanni Euerdon cofferario, Thome Rokes, Johanni Breknok, Thome Bateman, Johanni Hardewike, Laurentio clerico coquine, Ricardo Merston clerico iocalium Regis, Johanni Hynde, Ricardo Delafeld, et Thome Montgomery ¹

xliij armillas
auri ponderantes
xij vncias
iij quarterias
et xij. d.,
precio
xix.li.ij.s.
vj.d.

¹ The first eighteen men, down to John Christmas, together with John Seintbarbe, were squires of the Queen's household, paid as in attendance during the year 31-32 Henry VI (*ibid.* xl. 406-7); and Thomas Roche, Edward Hungerford, John Cornwall, and Thomas Stanlow may have been other squires of her household who were not in attendance this year.

George Assheby was clerk of the Queen's signet, William Crosseley was clerk of her closet, Jack or John Prince was one of her chamber-servants, John Hattecliff was clerk of her avenary (*ibid.* xl. 407, 406, 426). Thomas Normanton was a clerk of the King's chapel (E 101/410/9, Account of Sir John Stourton, treasurer of the King's household 30-31 Henry VI, fo. 42a; *C.P.R. 1446-1452*, p. 450; *C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 208). Richard Castell may, like Thomas Fulford, have been one of the Queen's henchmen; in the previous year he had received a purse and a gold ring along with "other squires-in-waiting, gentlemen, officials, and henchmen of the Queen".

One might suppose, from the laconic form of the entry in this account, that John Euerdon was cofferer of the Queen's household; but he had been cofferer of the King's household since Whitsuntide, 1447 (E 101/409/16, fo. 33a).

Thomas Rokes, Thomas Bateman, John Hynde, Richard Delafeld, Thomas Montgomery, all received presents of gold bracelets the previous year (A 30). They were probably recipients of gifts because, like John Hardewike, who was clerk of the King's kitchen (*C.P.R. 1446-1452*, p. 283), they were officials of the King's household whom it was necessary or useful to reward (Cf. *BULLETIN*, xl. 424). Thus Thomas Rokes was a royal household clerk (Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p. 725) who later rose to be King's server (*C.P.R. 1452-1461*, p. 626); Thomas Bateman was a royal household clerk who later became clerk of the greencloth (*ibid.* p. 545); Richard Delafeld was successively clerk of the controller of the household and King's sergeant (*C.P.R. 1441-1446*, p. 434; *C.P.R. 1446-1452*, p. 27); Thomas Montgomery was marshall of the hall to the King (*C.P.R. 1446-1452*, pp. 45, 305; Wedgwood, *op. cit.* p. 605). John Breknok or Brecknock, who had been sent to bring Queen Margaret to England in 1445, and was doing her service as receiver-general of the Duchy of Cornwall at this time

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Johanne Prynce (vj), Johanne Batersby (vj), Johanne Clyvers (iii), et Jaquette (iii), dauncellis Regine ¹ | xviii cocliares argenti ponderantes xj. vncias iij quarterias vj.d., precio xxxvij.s.x.d. |
| Duci Somerset et Comiti Wiltes'. vt in signis eisdem missis per dictam Reginam pro promocione magistri Johannis Hals ² | ij anulis auri —precio iiii.s.vj.d. |
| Duobus lumbardie differentibus domine Regine exennia extra le galey ³ | ij armillas auri —precio xxxij.s.x.d. |
| Ricardo Bircheley et Thome Mouseherst ad maritagia sua ⁴ | ij ciphos deauratos de parte xiiij ciphorum deauratorum ponderantium in toto xxvij.lb. v. vncias dim., precio in toto xxx iiij.v.li.vij.s.vj.d. |
| Filio Roberti Harcourt militis ⁵ | vnum colarium de tissewe cum esses argenti—precio vj.s.vij.d. |
| Nuncio Regine ⁶ | {vnum box argenti deaurati enameld {precio xxvj.s.viii.d. |

[In the right hand margin, bracketing the entries right from "Domino Regi" down to "Nuncio Regine" is the following summary]:

ij salaria auri, xj ciphis argenti deaurati cum cooperculis, j zona auri, j ymago sancte agnetis auri, ij paria flaskettes argenti deaurati, iij paxbreds argenti deaurati, ij chopynes argenti deaurati, x chopynes goderoned argenti parcellatim deaurati, xij chopynes argenti vnde le swages eorundem deaurati, xlv armille auri, xviii cocliares argenti, j rosa puri auri, j diamond et j rubie, j par ollarum argenti deaurati, j tabulettus auri, iiii hangers auri, j box argenti deaurati enameld, v anuli auri, iij colaria auri, j colarium de tissewe.

(BULLETIN, xl. 86-7, 112-13), later became treasurer of the royal household (C.P.R. 1452-1461, p. 295).

¹ A27 expressly calls Joan Prince the sister of John Prince, and presumably Joan Batersby was the sister of John Batersby or Baterseby, another chamber-servant (BULLETIN, xl. 406). Joan Clyvers received a gold bracelet the previous year (A30). Jacquetta may perhaps be the Jacquetta Stanlowe who in the previous year had been given a wedding present of a silver cup worth £8 2s. 8d. (A30).

² See 125 n. 7.

³ Three Lombards each received a purse and a ring the previous year (A 30).

⁴ Richard Bircheley was a groom, and Thomas Mouseherst a yeoman, of the Queen's chamber (BULLETIN, xl. 410, 409). Presents on marriage to members of the royal household may to some extent have been expected and, if so, a necessary expense. Nevertheless, on comparing Queen Margaret's accounts with other royal and seignorial accounts one derives a strong impression of her unusual generosity in this matter. See A25, A27, A30, and (BULLETIN, xl. 425).

⁵ Probably John, Sir Robert's heir, who would be a child of about two years old at this time. See above, page 115.

⁶ John Sergeant (BULLETIN, xl. 425).

Roberto Savage, Willelmo Lepton, Sampson' Vykers, Roberto Catton, Radulfo Gamage, Johanni Weston, Humfrido Whitgrene, Henrico Cripshild, Micheli Belwell, Thome Vaux, Willelmo Burton, Thome Moushurst, Georgio Dale, Johanni Sergeaunt, Edmundo Bolton, Johanni Wykes, Johanni Bere, Johanni Trailey, Roberto Grey, Galfrido Wright, Thome Browne, Johanni Scorer, Johanni Hille, Johanni Braughen, Roberto Liegh, Johanni Browe, Willelmo Barnet, Willelmo Faukener, Johanni Olyver, Ricardo Whityngton, Willelmo Warner, Laurentio Baker, Thome Bekyngton, Johanni Dobbes, Thome Whityngton, Waltero Burstede, Johanni Pecok, Jacobo Annesley, Henrico Fisher, Johanni Fisher, Willelmo Ludlowe, Willelmo Say, et Willelmo York

xliij arcos
(sic)
—precio
vj.li.ix.s.

Henrico Lochard, Roberto Bredon, Johanni Claydon, Thome May, Edwardo Esthope, Willelmo Parker, Johanni Ludlowe, Johanni Clampard, et Johanni York, ix pincernis cellariorum Regis et Regine, Ricardo Freybodye, Edwardo Heskith, Ricardo Medowe, Johanni Stephens, Thome Eyre, Ricardo Bircheley, Johanni Turges, Ade Sallay, Roberto Wadnynge, Rogero Otteley, Radulpho Bere, Ricardo Janet, Galfrido Lewes, Petro Marchall, Galfrido Williams, Willelmo Heron, Thome Wadylove, Ricardo Lowdesdale, Roberto Fereby, Willelmo Pepir, Johanni Roche, Thome Saunder, et Ricardo Bele, xxij garcionibuz camere, Rogero Euerdon, Johanni Mathew, Willelmo Wenham, Roberto Quaykerell, Johanni Baret, Johanni Bene, Johanni Grove, Hugone de Coquina, Willelmo Browne, Roberto Lichefeld, Willelmo Bony, Johanni Pauer, Ricardo Bryngeley, et Waltero Phelippes, xiiij pagettis camere et officiariorum ¹

xx
iiii. ix
arcus
(sic)

xlvi arcos
(sic)
—precio
cvij.s.viii.d.

Summa liberacionis iocalium predictorum et aliorum—vt supra Et remanent—

¹ The first twenty-eight names, down to that of William Faukener, are those of yeomen of the Queen's household (ibid, xl. 409). The next fifteen were probably yeomen of the King's household, or had formerly been so, judging by the examples of Thomas Bekyngton or Beckington, Richard Whittington, and Walter Burstede (C.P.R. 1441-1446, pp. 50, 275, 292); John Pecok or Peacock, William Ludlowe, William Say, and William York (N. H. Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vi. 223, 227; E 101/409/16, fo. 35b, E 101/410/6, fo. 41b, E 101/410/9, fo. 44b). Of the nine pincernae Henry Lochard, Robert Bredon, Thomas May, and William Parker were classed as "garciones camere et diversorum officiorum hospicii domini regis" in E 101/409/16, fos. 31b, 32a. For the twenty-three grooms and fourteen pages see BULLETIN, xl. 54-6.

Vnum par ollarum argenti deaurati cum Sampsonē super leonem et draconem,

^{xx}
precio ^{xx}iiiij.xiiij.li.xj.s.viiij.d.

Vnum magnum par ollarum argenti deaurati, precio ^{xx}iiiij.xij.li.ij.s.vj.d.

Vnum par ollarum argenti deaurati, precio xxxix.li.xij.s.vj.d.

Vnum goorde argenti deaurati ponderans xvj vnciam quarteriam dim., precio lxxj.s.iiij.d.

Vna armilla auri de numero vij armillarum auri ponderantium inter se ij vncias anno xxvj^{to} emptarum, precio lviiij.s.vj.d.

Vna armilla auri de parte ^{or}iiiij^{or} armillarum auri ponderantium inter se ij vncias j.d. troie, precio xl.s.viiij.d.

Vnum salarium argenti de parte ij salariorum argenti sine cooperculis ponderantium xj vncias et dim. quarterie, precio xl.s.viiij.d.

Vnus ciphus deauratus de parte ^{xx}xiiij^{xx} ciphorum deauratorum ponderantium in toto xxviiij.lb. v vncias dim., precio ^{xx}iiiij.v.li.vij.s.vj.d.

Vnus anulus auri de parte ^{or}iiiij^{or} anulorum auri, precio in toto lxxix.s.

Vnus anulus auri de parte xlvij anulorum auri anno precedenti emptorum, precio in toto vj.li.x.s.vij.d.

iiiij salaria argenti parcellatim desuper deaurati ponderantia vj marcas vij vncias dim. hoc anno facta de v. bolles argenti de Roone receptis extra manus Johannis Merston de dono Regis

[In the right hand margin against the above paragraph] :

iiij par ollarum argenti deaurati, j goorde argenti deaurati, ij armille auri, j salarium argenti, j ciphus deauratus, ij anuli auri, iiiij salaria argenti parcellatim desuper deaurati.

THE SECOND ISAIAH SCROLL FROM QUMRÂN (IQIsb)

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THE manuscript, in scroll, and a few fragments which fell from it during the long centuries it lay in its hiding place, was recovered in two stages from Qumrân Cave One, the first during the rifling of the cave by Beduin, presumably in 1947, and the second during the later examination of the cave in 1949 by Mr. Lankester Harding and Father de Vaux. Consequently, the two parts became separated and they now lie in two museums, territorially only a couple of miles apart, but politically in two different countries and possibly never to be brought together. The scroll itself formed part of the collection which was taken to the U.S.A. whence it was removed by purchase to the Hebrew University in Israeli Jerusalem, and there finally unrolled and published together with fragments which had become dislodged from its outer folds during treatment. It is well reproduced in *'Ošar ha-megillôth ha-genuzôth* and its English version, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*.¹ It contains the following texts :

| | | | |
|----------|-------------|-----|------------|
| Plate 1, | Fragment 1. | Is. | 10.17-19 |
| | „ 2. | | 13.18-19 |
| | „ 3. | | 16.7-11 |
| | „ 4. | | 19.20-20.1 |
| | „ 5. | | 22.24-23.4 |
| Plate 2, | „ 6. right | | 26.1-5 |
| | left. | | 28.15-20 |
| | „ 7. | | 29.1-8 |

¹ Edited by E. L. Sukenik (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 27-30 and Plates. The English edition, also by E. L. Sukenik, was prepared for the press by N. Avigad, and published in Jerusalem in 1955. The relevant introductory material (in the English edition) is on pp. 30-4.

| | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Plate 2, Fragment 8. | 30.10-14 |
| „ 9. | 30.21-26 |
| „ 10. | 35.4-5 |
| „ 11. | 37.8-12 |
| Plate 3, „ 12. | 38.12-22, 39.1-8 |

Plates 4-15 contain the continuous, though in places fragmentary, text of chs. 41-66, and despite the torn condition of the leather, there is ample textual material for analysis and conclusions.

The separated fragments were transferred from the cave to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jordan Jerusalem. Their publication forms part of the first volume of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert, I. Qumrân Cave I*,¹ by Father D. Barthélemy, O.P. The texts consist of :

| | | |
|-------------|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Fragment 1. | Is. | 7.22-8.1 |
| „ 2. | | 12.3-13.8 |
| „ 3. | | 15.3-16.2 |
| „ 4. | | 19.7-17 |
| „ 5. | | 22. 11-18 |
| „ 6. | | 24. 18-25.8 |
| „ 7. | | Two consonants on each of three lines which defy identification. |

All these texts are very fragmentary.

It is not within the purview of this article to discuss the more technical, scribal aspects of the manuscript ; suffice it to say that in form the script is extremely tidy and professional, and its date, according to most assessors, is first century A.D., therefore somewhat later than the majority of the Qumrân Cave One manuscripts. This comparatively late date, however, has no particular significance for the present article because the manuscript is presumably a copy of an earlier prototype, and, since the discussion deals with arguments based on the character of the text itself and not on the script, this assumption is tacitly accepted. The close affinity of the text in this scroll with the Massoretic

¹ Edited by D. Barthélemy, O.P. and J. T. Milik (Oxford, 1955), pp. 66-8, and Fragments 1-7 on Plate XII.

text of Isaiah has received frequent comment and is probably the reason why the scroll has attracted comparatively little attention among textualists. Nevertheless it is the significance of this characteristic that forms the main point of discussion in the present article.

A preliminary enquiry will establish the extent and nature of the variants from the M.T.¹ The almost complete absence of textual variants is the clearest indication of the close affinity between the two text-forms, for in one instance only can a case be made for a significant variant reading. It is in 53.11 where the scroll, in common with IQIsa and the LXX adds *וְיֵרָא* to *אֹר*, thus presenting a rendering, "he shall see light". It is frequently regarded as an improvement on the present text, and it appears to fit metrically and has Version support. Professor Seeligmann² has held that $\phi\omega\varsigma$ in this context may be due to inner-Greek interpretation, but the Qumrân Cave Four Samuel texts, with their remarkable similarity to parent-LXX text-forms, may now bring about a reversal of the tendency to resort to "inner-Greek" explanations for divergences between the M.T. and the text of the LXX. The supporting evidence of IQIsa in the present instance adds to the plausibility of the variant. The case, however, for its acceptance as a variant reading should not necessarily be taken as a plea for it as a superior reading.

In the next verse, 53.12, the scroll has, along with IQIsa and also LXX, the 3 p.m. suffix instead of M.T. *וּלְפִשְׁעֵיהֶם* which gives "their transgressions" for "the transgressors". It makes

¹ A detailed collation is given by S. Loewinger, "The Variants of DSI 11" *Vetus Testamentum*, iv. 2 (April 1954), pp. 155-63, which lists all kinds of deviations from the text of *Biblia Hebraica*³, including minor and insignificant details of orthography—for, surely, not all orthographic variants have the same textual significance! In many cases parallel readings from manuscript sources in Kennicott, de Rossi and Ginsburg are given, and also from the Versions ranging from Septuagint and Targums to Mishnaic and Talmudic material. A shorter but equally useful collation is provided by Sukenik in the commentary section of *Oṣar ha-megillôth ha-genuzôth* pp. 28-30 (English edn., pp. 31-4) and Barthélemy supplies textual annotation to his transcript of the textual fragments in *Qumrân Cave I*.

² *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (Leiden, 1948), pp. 108, 119, and B.O. 1949, pp. 7 f.

good sense as "but he bore the sin of many, and for their transgressions he made intercession". It may indeed be argued that here, as in 53.11, the textual support of LXX and IQIsa is significant, and that the present variant gives better parallelism. But it is also important to note that variation in the matter of suffixes falls into another category, in which it appears that the scroll reflects an interpretation of the text rather than an alternative text-form. There are other instances of the same type.

1. In 43.6, M.T., IQIsa and, with one exception, all other known readings give "bring *my* sons from afar, and *my* daughters from the ends of the earth", but the present scroll has "thy sons" and "thy daughters". The exception is Kenn. MS. 253, from A.D. 1495, which has "thy sons".

2. In 43.8 the scroll has אֹצִיא "I will bring forth" in contrast to M.T. *Hiph'il* imperative, הוֹצִיא, "bring forth", or the plural as in IQIsa and many moderns (cf. *B.H.*³ *app. crit.*). Ziegler, in the Göttingen Septuagint, refers to support for this reading in Bohairic.¹

3. In 49.3 we have what appears to be a change in the opposite direction, from the M.T. 1 s.m. אֶתְפָּאֵר to the 3 s.m. הִתְפָּאֵר. But the change makes no sense, since the context now gives, "And he said to me, Thou art my servant, Israel, in whom he will be glorified". It may be that here we have a simple scribal error, or confusion between gutturals, of which there are many in the scroll, as will be noted later.

4. In 58.5 the scroll reads "thy head" for M.T. "his head"; in 60.21, it reads, as do IQIsa, LXX and OL, "his hands" for M.T. "my hands";² and in 62.7 it reads, with partial support from Kenn. 76 (A.D. 1296) the plural לָכֶם for M.T. לוֹ. In 63.3 the scroll's גְּאֻלְתִּי, supported by IQIsa, seems to confirm the idea that M.T.'s so-called Aramaised *Hiph'il* is a scribal error for a *Pi'el*.

5. A change of tense seems to be introduced in 22.17, where, for M.T. וַעֲטָךְ, the scroll has the first two consonants of וַיַּעֲטָךְ,

¹ Cf. Loewinger, *op. cit.* p. 157, n. 7.

² A glance at *B. H.*³ ad loc. will show that the parallel, מַטְעוֹ, is a *Qrê-Kthibh* variant; the scroll supports the latter and is consistent with יָדָיו. In other words, it is a likely correct reading of the confused M.T.

and the inherent difficulties of this form¹ make the support of this reading, together with that of the first scribe of IQIsa, significant.

Such changes of person and tense are by no means unknown in both LXX and the Massoretic transmission itself. In Is.1.29 for M.T. יָבֹשׁ, three Hebrew MSS., LXX, Pesh. and Targ. read the second person plural; in 3.13, LXX and Pesh. have עָמוּ for M.T. עָמִים; and further instances can easily be found.

6. There are three places where the scroll has changed the gender of the M.T.: in 26.1 הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת for the M.T. masculine; 53.3, מְכַאֲבִים for plural feminine (where, by analogy of the next verse and Ps. 32.10, the scroll seems to be correct); and 66.17 where אֶחָת occurs for M.T. אֶחָד, (and where again the M.T. itself seems to support, in *Qrê*, the reading of the scroll).

7. The vast majority of variants deal with *waw* and *yodh*, both medial and final, but in neither case do they indicate significant textual variation. Father M. Martin, in a recent careful and elaborate analysis of this kind of vocalic-consonantal variation² between the scrolls themselves and between biblical scrolls and the M.T., has shown that, among a variety of scribal characteristics, IQIsb exhibits a very distinctive use of *waw* as *matres lectionis* which is quite different from that found in the other five scrolls³ of Cave One and also in the Massoretic transmission. Put very simply, it is that vocalic *waw* occurs only in monosyllables, with the exception of Massoretic Segholates, and in suffix-less words; at least, that is the rule of the main scribe of the Scroll and the few deviations do not, according to Martin, challenge the general position. In the case of the regular verb, the *Qal* uses vocalic *waw* for Infinitives and Participles, and in

¹ Cf. BDB ad. loc.

² *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols. 1958, 1959), pp. 1-715.

³ Op. cit. p. 269. Martin develops this point to show that "IQIsb conserves some traces of the pre-contraction period, when only final vowels were indicated. . . . The principle of developed consonantal spelling was bound to lead to a further extension of vowel-letter usage, which in the Maccabean period attained full generalisation. But there is no trace of this latter stage in IQIsb" (p. 345).

verbs ע"ו, the general rule applies, that *waw* is used in simple forms which have no terminations or suffixes.

Deviations in the consonantal incidence of *waw*, especially as a conjunction, and variations between singular and plural are not orthographic, but are more likely stylistic and interpretative.

The following instances occur :

(a) Where the scroll has plural for M.T. singular :

26.2, *וּבְאוּ* for M.T. *יָבֹא*.

43.9, with support from IQIsa and from De Rossi 850, *יָגִידוּ* for *יָגִיד*.

53.8, *לִקְחוּ* for M.T. *לִקַּח*.

54.3, with IQIsa and Targ. *יִירְשׁוּ* for M.T. *יִירֶשׁ*.

57.2, with Targ. *יָבֹאוּ* for M.T. *יָבוֹא*, but later in the verse, *נִכְחָה* with support in Kenn. 300 (*Minḥath Shai*), replaces the M.T. *נִכְחוּ*.

58.3, with IQIsa and LXX against M.T. *נִפְשָׁנוּ*.

58.11, with IQIsa *יִחְלִצוּ* for M.T. *יִחְלִיץ*.

59.4, where, in the second stichos, finite verbs in the plural replace the M.T. infinitive absolutes.

(b) The reverse : the scroll has singular for M.T. plural.

60.5, *יָבֹא* for M.T. *יָבֹאוּ*.

60.21, *מִטְעוּ* for M.T. *מִטְעִיו*.

(c) variation in *waw* conjunctive (or consecutive) :

30.13, *יָבֹאוּ* for M.T. *וַיָּבֹאוּ*.

43.7, *וְאֵף* for M.T. *וְאִף* with LXX support, though it might be dittography.

43.12, has no conjunction for M.T. *וְהִשְׁמַעְתִּי*, and is supported in this by LXX.

46.6, *waw* present with *יִשְׁכְּרוּ*, against M.T. but with LXX and Pesh.

49.7, *יָקוּמוּ* has the support of Kenn. 195 (1590) against M.T. and IQIsa *וַיָּקוּמוּ*.

53.3/5, two cases of added conjunction ; (v. 3) *וּנְבוּזָה*, with Vulg. and Kenn. 150 (probably late thirteenth century); likewise (v. 5) *וּמִדְכָּה* with LXX, Kenn. 351 (thirteenth century).

53.8, omitted conjunction with *מִמִּשְׁפָּט*.

54.4, omitted conjunction with *אֵל*.

55.13, ותחת, with IQIsa, Qré, Targ., Vulg., Rabbinic sources and Hebrew MSS. against M.T.

Chapter 58 seems to show considerable variation, for there are discrepancies in vv. 1, 2, 3, 4 (*bis*), 5 (*bis*), 6, 7, 8 (*bis*) and 13 : in some instances the scroll has support from the VSS and IQIsa.

62.7, omits *waw* from ועד, as do some 15 Kenn. MSS.

8. There are, moreover, a few other minor modifications of a miscellaneous kind.

In 47.13 ה is prefixed to שמים, as also in Kenn. 30 (*ca.* A.D. 1200); likewise in 49.6, to נקל, with Targum; and in 60.2, to וערפל. On the other hand, the article is omitted from ארץ in 24.19.

In 52.13 "high and lifted up" are transposed; likewise in 55.8 a transposition of "your thoughts are not my thoughts", and 38.19 M.T. כמוני היום is transposed.

In two cases we have variation of suffixes : in 55.11 the scroll has שלחתי for M.T. שלחתי, and in 56.8 it has לנקבצו for M.T. לנקבציו.

In 58.4, the preposition ל, with IQIsa, Targ., and Pesh. is introduced into the M.T. ומצה; in 59.2 the same preposition is dropped and the conjunction substituted, ובין, which also occurs in Kenn. 150 (late thirteenth century, and already quoted as supporting this text).

In 66.4, the preposition ב has been introduced in M.T. ומגורתם.

In 38.15, ודבר is given for M.T. ואמר.

In 59.2, אם is omitted from the M.T. כי אם.

Greater textual interest may well attach to some cases where the scroll text, whilst demonstrably presupposing the M.T., goes its own way.

(a) In 45.2 the M.T. gives "I will go before you and level the swellings" (R.S.V.), הדורים; but the scroll quite distinctly gives הרורים, probably a rare plural of הר, "mountains", which in IQIsa is given as הררים and LXX ὄρη. The IQISb form, if it stood in the prototype Massoretic text, might have been misunderstood by the Massoretes, and from it they produced the fairly understandable, but wrong, הדורים.

(b) Another interesting deviation occurs in 60.4, where M.T., according to BDB, means "Thy sons shall come from afar, and thy daughters shall be carried by a nurse", M.T. על צד תאמנה. R.V. has "shall be carried in the arms", with a marginal comment, "nursed upon the side". Obviously the phrase, and particularly תאמנה, is difficult. The present scroll has תושינה, though IQIsa agrees with M.T. Loewinger¹ draws attention to interesting Versions and manuscript support. Kennicott gives MS. 611, a fourteenth-century Haphtorah as reading תנשאנה "shall be carried", and MS. 96, again fourteenth-century and about which Kennicott remarks "Plurimes habet variationes", gives תנשאנה and תאמנה, obviously a conflation. It might be suggested that the scroll gives an explanatory variant of the original תאמנה, with י substituted for א, or, indeed with א dropped as has happened elsewhere in the scroll, e.g. 41.19, 52.14, 55.12.

(c) In 41.11 our manuscript has ויבשו where M.T. and IQIsa have ויאבדו: "those who strive against you shall be as nothing, and shall perish" (or, with the scroll, "shall be ashamed"). The scroll repeats the word of the first stichos, and the reading is simply a scribal error, not a variant reading.

(d) Whether or not there is a significant omission in 52.11 is difficult to decide. It has nothing for צאו מתוכה of M.T., and in this it agrees with Kenn. 95, a fifteenth-century Haphtorah. On the other hand, it might be a careless haplography partially explained by צאו in the previous line, and it lacks support from IQIsa and the Versions.

(e) In 24.19 the scroll has רוע for M.T. רעה, which pleasingly underlines BDB's comment on the latter that ה should be deleted as a dittography, and read רע. The M.T. *Hithpolel* of נוד, in v. 20, is given here as התנודא, which might, however, be a scribal error for התנודדא which is the form in IQIsa. In 58.12 we have a grammatical variant, where the scroll, giving משיב for M.T. *pil'el* participle משבב, substitutes a common for a rare form.

(f) In 60, 19/20 we have a clear instance of haplography,

where the scribe has lost the two lines of Hebrew text between the two occurrences of לאור עולם.

(g) In 62.6 תמיד is missing from the scroll, as also from IQIsa and the fourteenth-century MS. Kenn. 112.

(h) In view of the plethora of divergent forms of the divine name in IQIsa, the present scroll shows a remarkable agreement with M.T. In 38.14, the Tetragrammaton is given for M.T. אדני, and in 49.7 both are present whereas M.T. has only the Tetragrammaton. In 61.1 it has יהוה אלהים for M.T. אדני יהוה.

(i) Confusion between consonants (due to dictation error?):

(i) prepositions : אל and על : 38.21 ; 56.3 ; 60.5 ; 60.8 ; 66.2 ;

(ii) other gutturals : 30.13 לפתח for M.T. לפתע.

38.14 חשקה „ „ עשקה.

43.8 אוציא „ „ הוציא.

(iii) sibilants : 44.25 יסכל „ „ ישכל.

(iv) quiescents : 55.12 ימחיו „ „ ימחאו.

60.13 בראש „ „ ברוש.

66.2 ונכאה „ „ ונכה.

(j) 60.13, תרהר for תדהר is, on the other hand, a visual scribal error.

(k) In one other orthographic variant, the scroll makes an interesting contribution. It is well known that the 2 s.f. verbal termination in IQIsa is commonly תי, which has certain affinities with the Massoretic scheme ; in IQIsb the normal 2 s.f. is ת but in 47.7, וזכרתי conforms to the former.

It will be observed that there are very few readings in the above lists which can reasonably be regarded as significant variants of text ; indeed they are capable of interpretation only because they reflect the present M.T. Furthermore, it is not to be thought that the minor divergences are more numerous or more significant than those of the Massoretic transmission itself, as an examination of Massoretic texts in the collations of Kennicott, De Rossi and Ginsburg will show, or, indeed, among the texts of Cairo Genizah fragments. For instance, an interesting comparison may be made of col. 8 of IQIsb (*Jerusalem Scrolls*, Plates 9 and 10)—the most prolific in divergences—with

the corresponding M.T. of *Biblia Hebraica*¹, 52.7-54.6. The scroll has thirteen orthographic and sixteen other divergences : ¹ in two of the latter cases one or other of the texts shows omissions. Otherwise the divergences consist of the following features :

| | |
|----------------------------------------------|---|
| divergence of number (singular and plural) | 4 |
| „ in use of conjunction | 4 |
| „ in pronominal suffixes | 3 |
| confusion of gutturals | 1 |
| transposition of words | 1 |
| divergence of masculine and feminine endings | 1 |

By taking one single MS. from Kennicott, the fourteenth-century MS. 96, and tracing its witness through the same passage, we find it quoted forty-two times for orthographic variants alone. Furthermore, we find that within the Massoretic transmission as a whole the qualitative divergences are more far-reaching than those between it and IQIsb. Thus, we find ירושלים substituted for ציון in 52.7, נשא for קול in 52.8, חסף for חסף in 52.10, אלהינו for the Tetragrammaton in 52.12, תלכו for תצאו in the same verse. In 52.13 גבר for M.T. גבה, and in 53.1 כי replaces מי : and there are many more. There was certainly no rigid transmission of the text by the scribes of the post-ben Asher period, and the above comparison shows clearly that IQIsb approximates more closely to the M.T. than later texts, both in vocalic variants and text divergences. When we turn to Cairo Genizah fragments we see that extensive divergences of text obtained also in that collection. We might ignore for the present purpose the innumerable cases of deviation in *matres lectiones*, except by way of interest a whole set of four pointed sheets ² where י is intruded wherever possible ; thus : הישמעתי and במידכר. There are abundant places where the scribe failed to distinguish between א and ע, e.g. in 38.14 we have in one fragment חשקה (" love ") for עשקה (" weary "). Likewise confusion between sibilants : in one

¹ The addition or omission of vowel letters in the scroll, as has been demonstrated by Father Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, should actually be discounted on any grounds other than strict orthography.

² The Taylor Schechter Collection in the University Library of Cambridge, Box A31, Fragment 29. See also p. 142 for further peculiarities of this manuscript.

fragment¹ we find confusion of ט with ש, and ט with צ. So that, quite apart from the innumerable instances of confusion between אל and על in the M.T., as shown by the *apparatus criticus* of *B.H.*³, there is sufficient evidence in Genizah Fragments to show that compared with them the five quoted instances of guttural confusion in IQIsb are not out of proportion.

In the matter of divine names, comparison of IQIsb with Genizah Fragments shows that there is a notable measure of agreement between the former and M.T. Indeed, during an examination of over seventy facsimiles of Isaiah texts from the Old Cairo Genizah, the present writer was impressed more than by anything else by the frequency of deviation in the matter of writing the Divine Name. In Cambridge University Library Box 31, the following occurs :

- Fragment 6. Is. 22.5, omits the Tetragrammaton from the full title of M.T.
- Fragment 11. Is. 49.14 omits M.T. ואדני.
- Fragment 16. Is. 11.11 has the Tetragrammaton for M.T. אדני, in common with many manuscripts.
- Fragment 19. Is. 40.10 has אלהים for M.T. אדני יהוה.
- Fragment 27. Is. 7.14 has the Tetragrammaton for M.T. אדני, and in 10.16 omits the Tetragrammaton, though *B.H.*³ *apparatus criticus* indicates still further divergences in both passages.
- Fragment 29. which contains four sheets, has consistently substituted אדני for M.T. יהוה in every passage where it occurs, viz. 43.10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16; 44.2; and 65. 25; 66.1, 2; 66.5, 6, 9, 12.

Another interesting substitution occurs in the same MS.; in 66.8 it gives אחת for M.T. אחד—a deviation which has already been mentioned as being present, in another context but in the same chapter, in IQIsb.

It is because of this essential agreement between IQIsb and the Massoretic text that the former must be regarded as specially important. It does not have the quality of divergence

¹ Box A31, Fragment 28.

that is present, e.g. in IQIsa, and which points to that text as either a *Vulgärtext*, "popular" (non-standardized) or a recension text-form. On the contrary, the IQIsb deviations are not in any way greater or more significant than those in the Massoretic tradition itself. After examining a portion of the scroll which was photographed in the *Illustrated London News* for 18 February 1950, and later a longer section of it in Sukenik's *megillôth genuzôth II* (1950), Father T. J. Milik¹ said that the manuscript left on him the impression of a medieval codex of the Hebrew Bible, and the present writer is left with the same impression after looking at the whole of the published material.

Of course, it may be possible to argue that since the actual script of the manuscript is later than IQIsa, the text consequently shows a greater tendency to conformity with the M.T. But there are two strong counter-arguments to this view. (a) The case is adequately made by Father Martin,² in his very thorough examination of the Scribal character of the Dead Sea Scrolls, that the orthography of IQIsb must have been antecedent to that of any other Cave One Scroll, and consequently the text, too, must be older. (b) It seems illogical to assume that the biblical texts of Qumrân were influenced by Rabbinical efforts to produce or to develop the Massoretic text which was meant solely for orthodox Judaism. The Sēctarians seem to have held to their own traditions and ways quite successfully in every other respect, and the very diversity of biblical scrolls in the Qumrân collection seems to suggest that the "Rabbinic" text, current among other texts, had no special "scribal" significance, or enjoyed any inherent textual prestige. As an example of the independent transmission of the text by the Sēctarians, notice might be taken of the considerable deviation between the two texts in the matter of paragraphing. IQIsb has fifteen paragraphs identical with B.H.³, a further fourteen where there is divergence of "open" and "closed" paragraphs (though the Massoretic tradition is itself far from uniform in this matter), but twenty-two paragraphs where there is no agreement at all.

¹ "Il Rotolo Frammentario di Isaia", *Biblica* 31, pp. 246-9.

² Op. cit. *passim*, particularly "The Scribal Character of IQIsb", i, pp. 339-62.

The evidence seems to point clearly to one conclusion, namely that in IQIsb we have a text which was current outside orthodox Judaism but which is also essentially identical with the Massoretic text. Now it is ridiculous to think that the Massoretes at a later stage in Jewish history—or at any stage, for that matter—adopted a sectarian text as the basis of their own “standardized” form, consequently we must assume that there existed among orthodox Jews as well as the Sectarrians, at a time before the Massoretic period, a text-form which was “Massoretic”. It does not appear, then, that the בעלי המסורת ever “created” a text-form, or that the Massoretic text was something that “emerged” in the Christian era, or A.D. post-70. It was in existence, much as it stands today, at least as early as the Macca-bean period. Rabbi Aqiba may well have spent twenty-two years with Nahum of Gimzo, studying the use of the Accusative particle—there was little else for him to do with the text, because it had been “fixed” long before his time. We must look again at the real activity presupposed by the popular hypothesis of Aqiba’s “standardization” of the text. For this task, and particularly for the implicit support of the likely existence of a pre-Massoretic “Massoretic” text we must thank IQIsb.

WILLIAM CATESBY, COUNSELLOR TO RICHARD III

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THE writer's interest in William Catesby arose in the first place mainly on account of Catesby's election as Speaker for the Commons in the short parliament of January-February 1484,¹ the only parliament held by Richard III during his brief reign of little more than two years. It had been the case that in more than half of the forty parliaments which had met since the accession of Henry V in 1413 the Speaker was a trained lawyer who more likely than not filled an administrative or legal office in the royal civil service in one or other of its branches. Some Speakers of this type had been caught up in high-level politics during the struggle for power which had led to the displacement of the Lancastrian by the Yorkist dynasty in 1461. Catesby belonged to this kind of professional administrative expert who, in a determined and even ruthless pursuit of private interest and self-aggrandisement, was prepared to run the risks of involvement in political intrigue. But it was only in the sharp hectic crisis of 1483, in which Richard, Duke of Gloucester, converted his Protectorship for the minority of his twelve-years-old nephew, Edward V, into an usurpation of the throne itself, that Catesby came into prominence as one of the assistant-engineers of this palace revolution.

Catesby was a member of a family whose social status was not particularly outstanding. As gentry they were well found. But as the son and heir of a former retainer in the Household of Henry VI whose real sympathies had remained Lancastrian, his way in politics was very much his own to make. An apprentice-at-law, before the end of Edward IV's reign he was acting as legal counsel to those who controlled that peculiar complex of royal estates, the Duchy of Lancaster, and also putting his talents as an estate-agent at the disposal of a number

¹ *Rot[uli] Parl[iamentorum]* vi. 238.

of aristocratic families which had property in the area of his own family's possessions in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and thereabouts. Members of these peerage families who used Catesby's managerial services included some of his wife's family—the Zouches of Harringworth—and influential relatives of theirs like Lord Scrope of Bolton. They also included a new Yorkist peer, William Lord Hastings of Kirby Muxloe and Ashby-de-la Zouche, Edward IV's Chamberlain and his close and steadfast personal friend, whose territorial interests and amassment of local royal offices in the central and northern midlands allowed him a remarkable domination of those areas.

Edward IV's early death in 1483 seriously endangered such internal stability as England had managed to acquire under his rule. There was need for peace, established government, and competent administration: instead, there was the prospect of minority rule under Edward V and (as if that were not in itself depressing enough) of a more fundamental breach in the solidarity of the royal family than had even been the case sixty years before, when the infant Henry of Windsor had followed Henry V. Competing for the control of the person and authority of the young king were his mother, Queen Elizabeth, and members of her formerly pro-Lancastrian family, the Wydevilles, who hitherto had had much to do with his upbringing, and Richard of Gloucester, the sole surviving brother of the late king who, in his will, had appointed him to be Protector. Neither party felt itself safe from the other. Lord Hastings was no friend of the queen or of her family and on Edward IV's death, therefore, approved of Gloucester's Protectorship. But further than this Hastings was not prepared to go. And when Gloucester, whether moved by the stern necessities of the situation or deluded by crude ambition, resolved to be king himself and sought Hastings's support, the latter refused and paid with his life the price of fidelity to Edward IV and his issue.

In his recent book, *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1461-1483*, W. H. Dunham Jr. prefers to regard the practice of engaging retainers as "a refinement, and not a degeneration, of an earlier feudal custom", as legally founded upon contract, and as socially conditioned by an unstrained acceptance on the

part of both lord and retainer of their mutual fidelity: "the values which governed this politico-military system were", insists Mr. Dunham, "honor and integrity, good faith and the keeping of contracts" (p. 13). This hypothetically rosy view of bastard feudalism noted, it is not surprising to find in his book only the barest allusion to the part played in Hastings's betrayal by William Catesby, who appears in Mr. Dunham's narrative simply as "common friend" of Hastings and the Protector (p. 15). Now, as is made clear in Sir Thomas More's story of Richard III's usurpation—and there is no special reason why More's details about minor personages involved in its consummation should be open to suspicion—Catesby was an intimate enough member of Hastings's affinity to be one of his private council. His appointment as Chancellor of the Earldom of March during the brief reign of Edward V may be regarded, in fact, as a move on Gloucester's part to maintain Hastings's support for his Protectorship. Then, with Hastings done to death—and Catesby was privy to the exchanges, the effect of which precipitated Hastings's fall and resulted in his execution—Catesby climbed over the body of his patron into possession of certain of his posts: Richard III, soon after his accession, granted him the office of Chamberlain of the Exchequer and (with Viscount Lovell, who followed Hastings as King's Chamberlain) the Constableness of the castle and the master-forestership of the forest of Rockingham, together with the Stewardship of certain Northamptonshire crown-lands, all of which offices Hastings had held. Also granted by Richard III the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and made an Esquire of the Body and a member of his Council, Catesby rose rapidly higher in the usurper's favour. Whatever contract had subsisted between Catesby and Hastings, it had clearly waited upon expediency.

Partly constructed on the basis of the adherence of such men as Catesby, and troubled by rebellion and rumours of foul deeds, Richard III's rule never inspired confidence. Catesby held by him to the end, much as a previous Speaker and "caterpillar of the commonwealth", Sir John Bussy, had done by Richard II, nearly a century before. But, as perhaps in this earlier instance, it may have been because he had committed himself too far to be

other than dependable. Certainly, Catesby's will, with its revelations of his disappointment at not escaping the effects of his fidelity to Richard III at Bosworth Field, suggests that he would have followed a policy of re-insurance *vis-à-vis* Henry Tudor, had it been open to him to adopt it. He was seemingly sanguine in temperament, a born gambler. And had it not been for the circumspection of those who finally threw in their lot with Henry at Bosworth, Catesby's speculations would doubtless have paid richer dividends than even hitherto had been the case. He had been unable to extricate himself from the consequences of his heavy investment in Richard III's stocks, which now were proved to have been far from gilt-edged, and his personal liability stood no chance, in the circumstances, of being regarded as a limited one.

By a succession of profitable marriages with local heiresses, that branch of the Catesby family to which William Catesby belonged had built up for itself in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a very substantial collection of manors and lands in the adjacent counties of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire.¹ The bulk of them straddled the boundary between the two shires, being contained in the wide angle to the south of the crossing of the Fosse Way and Watling Street. The manor of Ladbroke (Warwicks.) had come into the family by marriage early in the fourteenth century. Nearby Radbourne came in the next generation with the marriage of the Speaker's great-great-grandfather, who had been connected with the household of Edward III, the same William Catesby who had represented Warwickshire in seven parliaments between 1339 and 1365 and had been the royal escheator in 1340-1 in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Lancashire, and in 1368-70 in Warwickshire and Leicestershire.² The marriage of this William's son, John, who was knight of the shire for Warwickshire in 1372 and 1393, king's steward of Coventry in 1383, and later in Richard II's reign steward of the Earl of Warwick's courts in Northamptonshire, brought Ashby St. Legers (Northants.), a Duchy of Lancaster tenancy, into the

¹ G. Baker, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, i. 244-5.

² *Cal. Charter Rolls*, v. 447; *C[alendar of] P[atent] R[olls]*, 1485-1494, p. 209.

family collection.¹ This John Catesby's younger son but eventual heir, John Catesby of Althorpe, the Speaker's grandfather, by his marriage secured possession of the manors of Lapworth (Warwicks.),² and Braunston (Northants.).³ Between his occupation of the office of escheator for Northamptonshire and Rutland in 1423-4 and of the shrievalty of Northamptonshire in 1425-6, he sat in parliament for the latter county in the spring of 1425 and he was again knight of the shire in 1429-30. His son, the Speaker's father, Sir William Catesby of Ashby St. Legers, wedded, as his first wife, Philippa, daughter and coheir of Sir William Bishopston of Castleton (knight of the shire for Warwickshire in 1426), and this marriage eventually brought her son, the Speaker, possession of the manor of Bishopston in south-west Warwickshire.⁴

The Speaker's inheritance and his own purchases altogether comprised more than a dozen manors, roughly divided equally between Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, as well as other properties : in the former county were the manors of Ladbroke, Radbourne, Lapworth, Bishopston, Oxhill (secured in 1482),⁵ and Grandborough,⁶ estates in Gaydon, Hodnell, Hardwick Priors, Napton, Corley, and property in the town of Coventry ; in Northamptonshire, the manors of Ashby St. Legers, Long Buckby, Watford, Welton, Great Creaton, and Braunston, and lands at Yelvertoft, Silsworth (in Haddon), Snorscombe, Everdon, and Hellidon.⁷ Over in Leicestershire he held the manor of Kirby Bellars and property at Husband's Bosworth and Dunton Bassett ; in Huntingdonshire, the manor of Tilbrook ; and, far away in Norfolk, the manor of Redenhall.⁸ The Speaker's close connection with Richard III enabled him to

¹ *Feudal Aids*, iv. 35 ; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, loc. cit.

² Sir William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, p. 585a ; *VCH, Warwickshire*, v. 111.

³ *C.P.R., 1485-1494*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 209 ; Dugdale, *op. cit.* p. 526b.

⁵ *C.P.R., 1485-1494*, p. 275 ; *Cat. of Ancient Deeds*, iii. A 4575.

⁶ *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 10387.

⁷ *C.P.R., 1485-1494*, pp. 209, 275, 340.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 275 ; 100 ; 129 ; *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 8481 ; *VCH, Bedfordshire*, iii. 173 ; F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, v. 368.

secure great advantage from the forfeiture of estates which followed the rebellion of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in the autumn of 1483, including some of the escheats of the duke himself and of the Marquis of Dorset. In Surrey Catesby got the duke's lordships of Camberwell and Peckham, but he mainly had his pick of places in his own region where he took the opportunity to strengthen his hold. In Warwickshire, he secured in tail-male the manors of Wootton Wawen, Little Halford, Great and Little Wolford, and Ascott; in Northamptonshire, the manors of Brington, Crick, Lilbourne, Claycoton, Rothwell, and Glapthorn, and, over in south Leicestershire, the manor of Broughton Astley. When this transfer was complete, he had an interest in some two score places in this region of the central Midlands. What was the annual value of all Catesby's estates is not known, but those he received from the forfeitures of the rebels of 1483 were alone worth £273 11s. 8d., from which he paid to the king no more than £20 12s. 9d. a year.¹

The family had come some way towards a position of more than merely local influence under the Speaker's father, Sir William Catesby. When his first wife, Philippa Bishopston (the Speaker's mother), died in 1446, he was a member of the household of Henry VI merely as an Esquire of the King's Hall and Chamber.² By May 1453, however, he was an Esquire of the Body to Henry VI and was probably soon afterwards knighted.³ He had already been sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1442-3 and 1451-2, knight of the shire first for Northamptonshire and then for Warwickshire in the two parliaments of 1449, and he sat again for Northamptonshire in the parliament of 1453-4. He was once more sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1455-6. In February 1458 he was made constable of Northampton castle for life, and at the end of this year, as one of the King's carvers, he was granted an annuity of £40. Half of this sum was to be charged on the issues of Herefordshire where, at this time (November 1458-9), he was occupying the shrievalty.

¹ British Museum, Harleian MS. 433, fol. 286v.

² Exchequer, P.R.O., E. 101/409-10.

³ J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies*, pp. 163-4.

His rising fortune had already been signalled (and doubtless assisted) by his second marriage :¹ with Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Barre and widow of a Herefordshire knight, Sir Kynard de la Bere of Kynnersley. She was very well connected, being on her mother's side a niece of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewbury, who had appointed the Speaker's father as one of his executors just before he went to fight for what little was left to the English in Aquitaine (where, in July 1453, he was killed).² In the last two years of Henry VI's reign, 1459-61, Sir William was a firm supporter of the Lancastrian party against the Yorkists : he was one of a committee of loyalists to whom some of the estates forfeited by the Duke of York—a large group of forty-five manors—were granted (to administer) at Coventry in December 1459 ; on 15 March 1460 he was given for life the stewardship of all York's sequestered estates in Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Herefordshire, together with the constableness of the old Mortimer stronghold of Wigmore ; and only a few days later he was granted the custody of the attainted Earl of Warwick's lordship of Fownhope (Herefords.), upon which, moreover, his annuity of £40 as King's carver was now charged.³ It is very likely that Sir William fought with the Lancastrian forces defeated at Northampton in July 1460, and almost certain that he did so in the disaster which befell them at the battle of Towton Field in March 1461, for on 14 May 1461 his estates in Northamptonshire and Rutland were ordered by Edward IV to be seized, and it was not until the following December that he was able to make fine and secure a royal pardon.⁴ There was a rumour current in the following year that he was with the Lancastrian exiles in Scotland,⁵ but in view of his pardon this is most unlikely. Certainly, Sir William

¹ Baker, *loc. cit.* (Wedgwood [*loc. cit.*] is in error in making Sir William Catesby's marriage with Joan Barre his first one, and his marriage with Philippa Bishopston his second. Philippa died on 20 December 1446, Joan on 11 August 1471.)

² Lambeth Palace Library, Kemp Register, fol. 311b.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1452-1461, pp. 542, 550 ; 581(461).

⁴ *Ibid.* 1461-1467, pp. 35, 120.

⁵ *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1880), p. 158.

was put back on the commissions of the peace in both Northamptonshire and Warwickshire in 1465. In spite of this, he clearly supported the Lancastrian restoration in 1470, being once again made sheriff of Northamptonshire by the "Readeption" government in November 1470, an office in which he was superseded by Lord Hastings's younger brother as soon as Edward IV re-established himself in April 1471. Sir William was not re-included in the Northamptonshire commission of the peace until November 1475, an appointment which he may have owed to the influence of George, Duke of Clarence, for whom he acted as a feoffee.¹ It was, however, after Clarence's execution (in November 1478) that he was made sheriff of Northamptonshire once more. He was still holding this office when he died.²

It is not very likely that the later Speaker, then a rising young apprentice-at-law, had hitherto found his father's antecedents and connections to be of much advantage to his own career. Nothing of William Catesby esquire is known until after the Yorkist restoration of 1471, apart from the fact that on 20 March 1460, shortly before the Lancastrian *débâcle*, his father and he secured a royal licence to establish a family chantry in the church of Ashby St. Legers.³ Very probably by this time the younger William was already married to Margaret, daughter of William, the sixth Lord Zouche of Harringworth who died in January 1468. The marriage had certainly taken place by December 1471 when young Catesby's wife's mother (Elizabeth) and her second husband, John Lord Scrope of Bolton, granted him for her lifetime all their lands in Houghton-on-the-Hill (Leics.).⁴ The Zouches were themselves of the parliamentary peerage and in the top flight of the landowning society of the East Midlands. Lord Scrope of Bolton, Catesby's wife's stepfather, was a prominent northern Yorkist whose adherence to the Earl of Warwick during the Lancastrian Re-adeption Edward IV thought it prudent to overlook, especially perhaps as Scrope's

¹ *C.P.R., 1467-1477*, pp. 530, 597.

² *P.R.O., Lists and Indexes*, no. IX (*List of Sheriffs*), p. 93.

³ *Ibid.* 1452-1461, p. 551. The Speaker's father simultaneously secured a licence to impark 300 acres of land at Ashby St. Legers and 1,000 acres at Lapworth (Warwicks.).

⁴ *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 6808.

wife, Catesby's mother-in-law, was a friend of the queen. (Lady Scrope was with the queen in the Westminster sanctuary when her first son, Edward, was born during his father's exile, and had stood godmother to the child at its rather unceremonious christening.) Had Catesby later on not so hopelessly compromised himself as a supporter of Richard III, his marriage might conceivably have proved of great assistance to him in other directions: Catesby's wife's mother was half-sister to Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII; Catesby's wife and Richard III's supplanter were cousins.¹

Little of immediate moment seems to have come the younger Catesby's way in the 1470s. In fact, surprisingly little information about him of any sort is forthcoming until the last two or three years of Edward IV's reign. It was not until 18 May 1473 that he was put on his first commission by royal appointment: an inquiry into the estates of the late Ralph Lord Sudeley in Warwickshire.² On 5 July following, he and his wife, his father, his two younger brothers, and others of their kinsfolk were admitted to the confraternity of the priory of Christchurch, Canterbury.³ On 5 October 1474 he sold to Sir William Stock (for £42) all the wood and underwood (except crab trees) in a coppice in Grettonwood in the forest of Rockingham, for three years.⁴ Here he was very likely acting for the man who was certainly later on his master: William Lord Hastings, the King's Chamberlain, who since 1461 had shared with his younger brother the master-forestership of the royal forest of Rockingham. In June 1475 Catesby and his father were acting as feoffees-to-uses to Richard, son and heir of the Richard Knightley of Fawsley (Northants.) who had been a teller of the Exchequer between

¹ *The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. H. White, xi. 545; Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, i. 692; *VCH, Beds.* iii. 41. Catesby's wife's mother, Elizabeth, was daughter of Sir Oliver St. John by Margaret, daughter and eventual heir of Sir John de Beauchamp of Bletsoe (Beds.), which Margaret after Sir Oliver's death married John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, by whom she became mother of Lady Margaret Beaufort, whose son by Edmund Tudor became Henry VII. Margaret de Beauchamp died in 1482-3 when her heir was John St. John, her son by her first husband.

² *C.P.R.*, 1467-1477, p. 403.

³ B. M., Arundel MS. 68, fol. 3b.

⁴ *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 6499.

1422 and 1438.¹ Nearly two years later he was one of a small group, including Chief Justice Billing, Sir Richard Tunstall (a sometime Lancastrian diehard), Catesby's uncle, John Catesby, a royal serjeant-at-law, Robert Whittlebury, his brother-in-law, and Oliver Sutton, who were granted by a royal patent of 1 March 1477 the custody of the castles and lands of John Stafford, late Earl of Wiltshire, and his countess (Constance, daughter of Sir Henry Green of Drayton, Northants), during the minority of Edward, their son and heir.² The latter, who on the death of his father nearly four years before was aged only three years, was a first cousin to Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. Shortly before Richard III's accession these same associates (except that Chief Justice Husee had been substituted for his predecessor at the King's Bench) were given the heir's wardship and marriage; confirmed in it a year later, they were still enjoying the wardship in December 1484 when they had an acquittance for a payment of £1,000.³

In the 'seventies, meanwhile, Catesby was beginning to be active as an agent for some of the more considerable landowners of his own region. On 1 October 1477, for example, Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and widow of George Neville (Lord Latimer) and more recently (in 1476) of Thomas Wake esquire of Blisworth, granted for life to Catesby and his son and heir, George, rents of £10 and 10 marks respectively from the manors of Kislingbury (Northants) and Bewdley (Worcs.) for William's services on her behalf.⁴ William Catesby, as a member of her council, was still in receipt of her annuity when she made her will on 28 September 1480:⁵ she appointed him one of her executors, along with John Sapcote, Esquire for the Body to Edward IV, and William Lord Hastings, the King's Chamberlain, who was also appointed an overseer of the will together with the Duke of Gloucester and Bishop Morton of Ely; Catesby was appointed one of a small group of three of the executors who were to have the receipts of all her

¹ C.P.R., 1467-1477, p. 531.

² Ibid. 1477-1485, p. 19.

³ B.M., Harleian MS. 433., fol. 69^v, fol. 197.

⁴ *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 7459.

⁵ N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i. 360.

enfeoffed lands (in Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Devon and Somerset) and make annual account before the overseers. (His fellows in this business were John Wake, who became usher of the Chamber to Richard III, and Thomas Limerick, steward of the Latimer lands.) The Baroness Latimer died within the next few days. Two months later, the feoffees procured a royal pardon for the conveyances and a licence to enter, and at the end of December 1480 Catesby and the other operative executors began to farm (as responsible to the Exchequer) some of the Latimer estates in Worcestershire during the minority of the Baroness Latimer's grandson and heir, Sir Richard Latimer, who was then in the wardship of his mother's kinsman, Cardinal Bouchier. The Latimer feoffees were still involved in the trust in November 1483.¹ In the meantime, on 3 July 1482, Sir Thomas Vaughan (Treasurer of the King's Chamber) and John Wood (Under-Treasurer of England) had made Catesby steward of the Latimer manors of Corby and Burton Latimer (Northants.), with an annual fee of two marks and for the duration of the heir's minority.² He was already associated with Lord Hastings in other ways than as co-executor to Dame Latimer: on 1 October 1478, for instance, the two men were involved (with others) in leasing a place called "Over Court" in Farthingstone (Northants.).³

It was shortly after this that Catesby's father, Sir William, was for the last time appointed sheriff of Northamptonshire. At the previous midsummer (1478) Catesby himself had been put on a royal commission to hold an inquest post mortem regarding the lands of a Northamptonshire widow,⁴ and, more recently, on 30 July 1478, father and son had together been made commissioners of inquiry into cases of forestalling and regrating of grain and malt in Northamptonshire.⁵ Early in his father's year of office as sheriff, William Catesby esquire was also put on a commission of gaol delivery at Northampton (by patent of 8 February 1479).⁶

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1477-1485, pp. 233, 241; B.M., Harleian MS. 433, fol. 124^v.

² *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 8428.

³ *Ibid.* A 6469.

⁴ *C.P.R.*, 1477-1485, p. 111.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 144.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 146.

Before his year of office as sheriff was ended, Catesby's father died. This was probably not long before 22 October 1479, when writs of *diem clausit extremum* were sent by the Chancery to the escheators in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.¹ It can only have been shortly after this that Catesby came into possession of his own family-estates.

This accession of sources of income in land was quickly followed, as it happened, by a burgeoning of Catesby's managerial interests in a number of directions. On 12 January 1480 he was involved in a purchase of the manor belonging to the Staffords at Tilbrook (Huntingdonshire), a former De Bohun manor.² Sometime between then and the Duke of Buckingham's execution for treason in the autumn of 1483, Catesby became his steward and surveyor in the manor of Rothwell (Northants.), a property which Catesby then secured for himself along with other of the Duke's forfeitures;³ on 11 March 1481 he was already included among the Duke's feoffees in Rothwell, some Stafford family estates in Essex, and the lordship of Thornbury (Glos.).⁴ In the spring of 1484 he was still interested in Buckingham's affairs, being a member of a small group of Richard III's advisers charged with meeting the Duke's debts out of some of his escheated property.⁵ Meanwhile, on 10 January 1481, his mother-in-law and her second husband, John Lord Scrope of Bolton, appointed Catesby ("their son") to be steward and surveyor of all the lands held in Northamptonshire by Lord Scrope in right of his wife; the office was to last for the lady's lifetime and carry with it a £4 fee from the issues of the lordship of Brayfield.⁶ Some of these estates, the Zouche manors of Barby, Onley, and Gretton (Northants.), they demised to him for the same term on 16 February 1484.⁷ Within half a year of this stewardship coming his way, Catesby was also appointed by his brother-in-law, John Lord Zouche (who had just come

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1471-1485, p. 175.

² *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A. 8481.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1485-1494, pp. 232-3.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1477-1485, p. 257.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 498; B.M., Harleian MS. 433, fol. 176^v.

⁶ *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 8336.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. A 4786.

of age) as steward and surveyor for life of all his manors and lands in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Warwickshire, and as surveyor of all his estates in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire: part of Catesby's reward was a grant to him (also for life) of all Lord Zouche's lands in Yelvertoft (Northants.).¹ Already, in February 1481, he had been retained as one of the apprentices-at-law engaged as counsel by the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a fee of 13s. 4d. per annum; and Catesby was to retain this office under Richard III.²

In the last year or so of Edward IV's reign, Catesby continued to engross local administrative offices and occasionally to act simply as a fee-ed counsellor. On 8 March 1482 the Augustinian priory of Laund (Leics.) made him a grant for life of an annuity of 2 marks (26s. 8d.) for his good counsel past and to come.³ A yearly rent of £2 charged on the manor of Farndon-in-Woodford (Northants.) was granted him for life on 16 May following, for counsel given by him to Edward (Grey) Lord Lisle, the second son of Edward Lord Ferrers of Groby and brother to the queen's first husband (John Grey), who had married a grand-daughter of the first Earl of Shrewsbury and was to be created Viscount Lisle by Richard III in the first week of his reign.⁴ Only a fortnight or so later and, on 1 June 1482, Lord Hastings's younger brother, Sir Ralph Hastings of Harrowden, Knight of the Body to Edward IV, made Catesby steward of his manor of Harpole for life and also steward of the manor of Harleston during the minority of the son and heir of John Dive, Attorney-General to Edward IV's queen from 1465 to 1474; Catesby was to take a fee of £1 a year in each case.⁵ It was a month after this (3 July 1482) that he became steward of two of the Northamptonshire manors of Lord Latimer (then still in his nonage) at 2 marks a year. And Richard III had been reigning for little more than a year when, on 1 August 1484,

¹ *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 9650.

² Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts Various, P.R.O., D.L. 28/5/11; R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i. 454.

³ *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A 13424.

⁴ *Ibid.* A 6600.

⁵ *Ibid.* A 9178.

describing Catesby as his kinsman, John Lord Dudley appointed him steward for life of the lordship of Rugby (Warwicks.) with a fee of 10 marks a year, when the life-tenant (Lord Stanley) should die, and also made him steward for life of the manors of Aston-le-Walls and nearby Appletree (Northants.) with a yearly fee of £2.¹

It is probable that William Catesby sat as knight of the shire in Edward IV's last short parliament which came together on 20 January and was dissolved on 18 February 1483. If so, it may well have been that he represented Northamptonshire, because—although the returns of elections to this parliament for Warwickshire as well as for Northamptonshire have been lost—the sheriff of Northamptonshire at the time of the election was Catesby's brother-in-law, Robert Whittlebury, whose influence on the election was more likely than not to have assisted his chances. Incidentally, the family's prestige certainly received something of a fillip when, at the end of this 1483 parliament, the king knighted Catesby's uncle, John Catesby of Whiston (Northants.) (a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas since November 1481).² Within two months of the dissolution Edward IV died (on 9 April 1483). Eleven weeks later, on 26 June, the Protector, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, usurped the throne of his nephew, Edward V. The *interim* had been full of momentous activity for Catesby.

So far in Catesby's career there is no evidence to connect him with the royal household or administration, although his legal services presumably had been used by the Duchy of Lancaster. His father, not long deceased, had been a Lancastrian in sympathy (even as late as 1470) and after the extinction of the Lancastrian dynasty of the direct line in 1471 had had no better fortune than to be linked with the unhappy Clarence; he had, however, escaped damning or serious entanglement at all stages of his career. His son at Edward IV's death held no proper office by Crown appointment: well-connected by the marriages of his forbears and his own, he was a considerable landowner in the central Midlands, but it was as a lawyer, ready with his

¹ *Ancient Deeds*, A 8428; A 7654.

² W. C. Metcalfe, *A Book of Knights Banneret, etc.*, p. 6.

advice to local aristocratic and other families and as a professional land-agent to such like, that he was making his way. Thanks to a later Speaker's *History of Richard III* (Sir Thomas More's) we are enabled to see something of the quick steps that Catesby was enabled to make, taking him from a relative obscurity, where his political place is very likely to have been chiefly derived from his membership of Lord Hastings's personal council and of the committee of the Duke of Buckingham's feoffees, into the relative glare of his position as one of the foremost counsellors to Richard III.

Much of More's information was doubtless derived from the memory of Cardinal Morton, with whom he took service as a page some four or five years after the crowning mercy of Bosworth Field. But whatever may be thought of the outcome of this relationship, in terms of the author's partisan approach or of his tendency to dip into the "inward disposition of the mind" of his *dramatis personae*, the relation of his facts about the minor characters in his story is very credible.

The death of Edward IV "at once broke up the unity of the court" (Stubbs). The Duke of Gloucester got possession of the person of the young king, imprisoned in the north such of the queen's kinsmen (the Wydevilles) as could be seized (chief of them Earl Rivers), and got himself accepted as Protector by the royal Council, mainly through the agreement of Lord Hastings, the Chamberlain. Edward V's coronation had already been put off from 4 May to 22 June 1483. It was on this day that Richard of Gloucester's right to the crown was publicly referred to in a sermon at Paul's Cross, the "Broadcasting House of the day" (as Professor Knowles has happily termed it). Three days later he was "persuaded" to accept the crown, mainly on the grounds of his royal nephew's supposititious illegitimacy, and on 26 June he began his reign. To bring this about, Lord Hastings's removal had proved necessary.

Opposed to the Wydevilles, Hastings had supported Gloucester's Protectorship, but could not be won over to the scheme which would realize the duke's greater ambition. It was Catesby, Hastings's own retainer, who was given the chance to secure his lord's support for Gloucester's usurpation of the throne,

and who (if we may believe More's account) failed of a purpose, so that on 13 June Hastings was arrested at the Tower for treason against the Protector and immediately executed. Hastings, Lord Stanley, and other lords had deliberated measures for Edward V's coronation in the Tower where the king was, while at the Protector's house in the city another part of the Council plotted to make him king in his nephew's place. Hastings was easy on the point of the Council's division and told Stanley so and why: "for while one man is there, which is never thence, never can there be thing once minded that should sound amiss towards me but it should be in mine ears ere it were well out of their mouths". And More went on: "this meant he by Catesby, which was of his near secret counsel, and whom he very familiarly used, and in his most weighty matters put no man in so special trust, reckoning himself to no man so lief, since he well wist there was no man to him so much beholden as was this Catesby, which was a man well learned in the laws of this land, and by the special favour of the Lord Chamberlain [Hastings himself] in good authority, and much rule bore in all the county of Leicester, where the Lord Chamberlain's power chiefly lay . . . surely thought he that there could be none harm towards him in that Council intended where Catesby was". Richard of Gloucester used Catesby to try to win Hastings over to his plan. And then More's relation continues: "But Catesby, whether he essayed him or essayed him not, reported unto them that he found him so fast, and heard him speak so terrible words, that he durst no further break. And of truth, the Lord Chamberlain of very trust showed unto Catesby the mistrust that others began to have in the matter. And therefore he, fearing lest their motions might with the Lord Hastings diminish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leaned, procured the Protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather for that he trusted by his death to obtain much of the rule that the Lord Hastings bore in his country, the only desire whereof was the allective that induced him to be partner and one special contriver of all this horrible treason."¹

If all this was so, Catesby's was a double treason. And

¹ *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, ed. W. E. Campbell (1931), p. 53.

certainly he directly profited by his former patron's death even before Richard of Gloucester took the crown. Already, however, a month before Hastings's execution, Catesby was clearly in favour with the then newly-recognized Protector, on 14 May 1483 being granted for life the office of Chancellor of the peculiarly Yorkist Earldom of March with an annual fee of £40. This was doubtless part of a move on Gloucester's part to put into his friends' hands that administrative machine which Edward IV had devised for the government of the unruly March of Wales, a plan recently under the nominal control of his son who was now the nominal king but under the actual control of a group of men among whom Edward V's maternal uncle and governor, Earl Rivers, had been pre-eminent. In this office Catesby was to be under the orders of the Duke of Buckingham.¹ And on the day after this appointment—15 May—Catesby was for the first time made a J.P. in his own county of Northamptonshire.²

Catesby's advancement opened up the way to private as well as public preferment. For twelve years a Hertfordshire lawyer, John Forster esquire, a member of Edward IV's household and a close connection of Lord Hastings, had been steward over all the manors and franchises of the great Benedictine abbey of St. Albans, and more recently Hastings had been associated with Forster in this office by a grant of it to them both for life (in survivorship). Hastings's "treason" involved Forster in immediate arrest and imprisonment in the Tower, where he remained in custody for nearly nine months; within two days of his arrest he was compelled to make over his office of steward to Catesby; and the appointment was ratified, presumably without any option in the matter, by Abbot Wallingford and his monastic chapter on 1 August following.³

Twelve days after Hastings's death, Edward V was deposed. On the same day, 25 June, Earl Rivers was put to death without proper trial at Pontefract, along with two other members of

¹ B.M., Harleian MS. 433, fols. 6, 12b.

² C.P.R., 1477-1485, p. 587.

³ *Registra Abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 1873), ii. 113, 200, 266.

Edward's former council, Sir Thomas Vaughan (his chamberlain) and Sir Richard Hawte (a cousin of Queen Elizabeth). In charge of their execution was Sir Richard Radcliffe, a Yorkshire knight, who was hurrying south from the dales with forces to put at Gloucester's disposal, there soon to become, like Catesby, one of the usurper's right-hand men. Radcliffe and Catesby were already related: they shared Lord Scrope as father-in-law. Only two days before the butchery at Pontefract, in the Protector's own castle at Sheriff Hutton, with full knowledge of his impending fate, Rivers had drawn up his will: Catesby was among the executors recommended, Gloucester himself being written down as overseer, if he would act.¹ Hawte, whom Rivers obviously did not expect to die and appointed as another of his executors, before his own execution left the Bishops of Worcester and Durham bound (as his sureties) to Catesby in an obligation of 700 marks; and in December 1483 they were granted Hawte's land-rents to enable them to meet the charge.²

On the fifth day of Richard III's reign (30 June 1483) Catesby was by royal patent confirmed for life in his new office of Chancellor of the Earldom of March and, by separate patents of the same date, grants for life were also made to him of the Upper Exchequer office of Chancellor of the Exchequer and of the Lower Exchequer office of Chamberlain of the Receipt which his late master, Hastings, had held at his death.³ He was admitted to the Chamberlainship ten days later (on 10 July).⁴

Catesby's engrossing of local offices continued with an appetite further sharpened by his membership of Richard III's Council and by a proximity to the king's person that was even further assured by his new office in the royal Household of Esquire for the Body. He and Francis Viscount Lovell, Richard III's Grand Chamberlain, together got a grant of the constableness of Rockingham castle (Northants.), an office given by Edward IV in 1461 to Lord Hastings and his younger brother Ralph;

¹ *Excerpta Historica* (London, 1831), p. 248. (The will was never proved.)

² B.M., Harleian MS. 433, fol. 129^v.

³ *C.P.R., 1477-1485*, pp. 360-1. There were, of course, two Chamberlains of the Receipt. Catesby enjoyed the right to appoint one of the ushers of the place.

⁴ P.R.O., typescript *List of Officials*, p. 9.

and they also followed Catesby's former patron in the connected offices of master-forester of the forest of Rockingham, steward of the manors of Rockingham, Brigstock, and Cliffe, parker of Brigstock, and overseer of the herbage, pannage, and foreign wood of these manors for the term of Catesby's life.¹ Catesby was also, early in 1484, occupying the office of justice of the forest of Whittlewood, out of which he was instructed to make large grants to Lord Lovell.² He held on to this latter office, but the Rockingham offices were early in 1485 restored to Sir Ralph Hastings who had received a royal pardon since his brother's death and was now a Knight of the Body to Richard III. The act of restitution was apparently made with Catesby's agreement, for the exemplification of the patent embodying the original grant of 1461 was conceded on 20 February 1485 expressly at his request.³ Meanwhile, on 16 August 1483, Lord Lovell, Chief Butler of England as well as Lord Chamberlain, had appointed Catesby as one of his two deputy-butlers in the ports of Bristol, Exeter, and Dartmouth.⁴ And on 25 September following, Catesby, now for nearly three years one of the legal experts in the service of the duchy of Lancaster, was appointed for life as steward of the duchy lordships of Higham Ferrers and Daventry, Peverell's fee, and other duchy estates in Northamptonshire.⁵ (Catesby's step-father-in-law, Lord Scrope, was Chamberlain of the Duchy and therefore nominal head of its council.) His links with Viscount Lovell quickly multiplied: it was at the King's instance that, on 5 October 1483, the abbot of the south Yorkshire Benedictine house of Selby gave Lovell and Catesby a grant for their lives (in survivorship) of the office of steward of the manor of Stanford (Northants.), near where Catesby's own estates were thick upon the ground.⁶ Later in the year, on 17 December 1483, Lord Stanley, who more by good luck than good management had survived the usurpation-crisis of the summer and who, now that the sons of Edward IV and the

¹ B.M., Harleian MS. 433, fols. 104, 286^v.

² Ibid. fols. 153, 195^v.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1477-1485, p. 536.

⁴ Ibid. p. 465.

⁵ B.M., Harleian MS. 433, fol. 29; R. Somerville, *op. cit.* i. 586.

⁶ *Ancient Deeds*, iv. A. 11064.

Duke of Buckingham had been done to death, was in an especially difficult position because his stepson, Henry of Richmond, was Richard III's only potentially serious challenger for the throne, saw fit to bestow for life on Catesby an annuity of five marks for his goodwill and counsel; the sum was to be charged on the manor of Kimbolton (Huntingdonshire), an estate granted to Stanley out of Buckingham's forfeited property.¹

Esquire of the Body to the King and a member of his Council, holding the two Exchequer offices of Chancellor and Chamberlain and the Chancellorship of the Earldom of March, Catesby was entirely committed to stand or fall with the new régime. That there was a persistently serious possibility of its collapse is evident from the fact that within four months of Richard's accession the chief supporter of his usurpation, the Duke of Buckingham, was plotting his overthrow in concert with Lancastrian sympathizers and other hostile elements. Buckingham's rising failed, and he was executed on 2 November at Salisbury. The king, who had refused him an interview, then moved to deal with the other rebel sectors in the south-west, Catesby almost certainly in attendance. It was as an Esquire of the Body that, at Exeter, on 13 November (the day after the king's arrival there) Catesby was appointed to serve on a royal commission to arrest and imprison rebels in Oxfordshire and Berkshire. He was back at Westminster with the king on 26 November when he was present at the ceremony in which Richard gave the great seal back into the keeping of the Chancellor, Bishop Russell of Lincoln; the king had had it with him since 19 October.² Already, since the early part of August, a justice of the peace in Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire³ (as well as in Northamptonshire), Catesby was also put on the commission of the peace in Oxfordshire and Berkshire on 5 December 1483 and in Hertfordshire too (here, perhaps because he was steward of the lands of the abbey of St. Albans).⁴ A few days later (on 10 December) he was made a

¹ *Ancient Deeds*, A 10182.

² *C.P.R.*, 1477-1485, p. 371; T. Rymer, *Foedera*, xii. 203.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1477-1485, pp. 561, 564, 576, 578.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 554, 562, 569.

member of royal commissions of inquiry into treasons and acts of rebellion in his own territory of Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire, with authority to seize the estates of delinquents.¹

Catesby's appointment to this commission followed by one day the issue of writs re-summoning Richard III's first parliament. Its earlier assembly, fixed for 6 November 1483, had been postponed on account of the Duke of Buckingham's revolt. Now parliament was called for after Christmas. Catesby was elected, but whether for Warwickshire or Northamptonshire is not known. Northamptonshire is the more likely alternative, if only because in the shrievalty of this county one brother-in-law of Catesby's, Robert Whittlebury, had just been succeeded by another, Roger Wake esquire. The parliament began, as summoned, at Westminster on 23 January 1484, and the Common's choice for their Speaker fell on Catesby, whom they presented for his royal master's formal acceptance on 26 January. This parliament was to have a short session of barely four weeks, ending on 22 February, but some of the business transacted was of great importance. One of the first matters to come up was the ratification by parliamentary authority of the proceedings by which Richard III had obtained the crown. A bill to this effect was introduced in the Lords and came down to the Commons for their approval. Then came the attainders of those who had committed treason in the late rebellion. Another act invalidated the letters patent made to Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth Wydeville. The king's need for popularity inhibited the expression of any royal desire for direct taxation, and no vote was volunteered, but the Commons under Catesby took an unprecedented step in granting to the king, in his first parliament and in the first year of his reign, tonnage and poundage and the wool subsidies for life. (Edward IV had been voted such a grant only in his second parliament and after four years of his reign had elapsed.)

Contrary to what was becoming the usual practice, Catesby does not seem to have received a money reward, charged on the Exchequer, in return for his prolocutorial services. But

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1477-1485, p. 393.

he certainly did well out of grants of recently forfeited estates : property worth some £273 odd a year, in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Surrey, and in London, fallen into the king's hand by the attainders of the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquess of Dorset, and Sir George Browne, was bestowed on him and his heirs-male, at a mere rent of £20 odd.¹ What he picked up "on the side" from his Speaker's office, there is no means of knowing. During the session, however, another fresh if small item of income came his way in the grant (on 3 February) of a yearly fee of 2 marks for life from the abbot and convent of the little Cistercian house at Combe near Coventry, with licence to enter its lands in Harbury (Warwicks.), a mile or two away from his own manor of Ladbroke, in case of non-payment.² And when the parliamentary session had still a week to run, on 16 February, his wife's step-father and her mother (Lord Scrope and his lady) granted him three Northamptonshire manors for the duration of her lifetime.³ A fortnight after the session was done, a further piece of royal bounty came to Catesby in the form of a grant of the wardship of the lands and the advowson of the church of Braunston (near Ashby St. Legers) during the minority of the son of a former usher of the Chamber to Edward IV, John Acton esquire.⁴ The seven years' occupation of Stafford lands in nine counties which Catesby, along with Chief Justice Hussey, William Beverley (Dean of the King's Chapel), and Edmund Chadderton (Treasurer of the King's Chamber and receiver and surveyor of Buckingham's forfeitures) was granted on 23 May 1484, was, of course, for the payment of the late Duke's debts.⁵ But the grant for a term of years to Catesby, referred to in a warrant dated at Pontefract a week later (on 30 May) and ordering the tenants of a number of forfeited Wiltshire manors to pay him their dues and give him obedience, was one made by the king "for the contentacion of certain dettes by us to hym appointed to be satisfied".⁶

¹ B.M., Harleian MS. 433, fols. 45^v, 286^v.

² *Ancient Deeds*, iii. A 4306.

³ *Ibid.* A 4786.

⁴ *C.P.R.*, 1477-1485, p. 419.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 498.

⁶ B.M., Harleian MS. 433, fol. 174^v.

In this year of his Speakership, Catesby inevitably served on a number of casual royal commissions in addition to discharging the duties of his offices and more permanent commissions. The first of these occasional commissions passed the great seal on 1 March 1484: a commission to the Duke of Norfolk and others, including Catesby and his kinsman, Justice Catesby, to deliver Newgate gaol of Sir John Guildford of Rolvenden, who had led the rising of the men of Kent in the previous autumn and had suffered attainder in the recent parliament.¹ Thwarted in the autumn of 1483, Henry Tudor was still in exile. But he was supported at the Court of Brittany where at Christmas he had actually been proclaimed King of England, and there was a constant anticipation of landings on the south coast of England in the spring of 1484. On 1 May 1484 Catesby himself was made a member of commissions of array in Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire.² A truce with Brittany, made early in the following month, profited Richard III little if at all, for Henry Tudor moved into an even more cordial atmosphere at the court of the young Charles VIII of France. On 26 June Catesby was included in a commission authorized to take (at Southampton) the muster of a retinue of 1,000 archers which Lord Powis was supposed to be taking to Brittany, presumably as a consideration for the truce and perhaps for the seizure of the English exiles; but the force seems never to have gone overseas. On 20 February 1485 Catesby was one of those appointed to negotiate for an extension of the Anglo-Breton truce; this they secured, the existing truce from 1 July 1484 to 24 April 1485 being continued to Michaelmas 1492.³ In the meantime Richard III's efforts to gain credit by invading Scotland had come to nothing, so that, and in face of the threat of attack from across the Channel, by the end of the summer of 1484 he had to reconcile himself to an Anglo-Scottish peace, and on 11 September an embassy from James III arrived in Nottingham with full powers to negotiate. On 20 September fifteen of Richard's counsellors, headed by the Chancellor and including Catesby, were authorized

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1477-1485, p. 465.

² *Ibid.* p. 400.

³ *Ibid.* p. 547; Rymer, *Foedera*, xii. 261.

to treat with the Scottish emissaries for a peace; only four of these English commissaries—the Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, Radcliffe and Catesby—made up the select group separately entrusted with the negotiation of a marriage between James III's heir and Anne, the daughter of the Duke of Suffolk and Richard III's niece.¹ Both objects were guardedly conceded by the Scots whose faith in Richard's political stock was presumably not boundless.

The king's difficulties, given the best will in the world to pacify the country and appease the many malcontents that his usurpation and the manner of it had raised up, did not diminish as time went on. Rather, they grew. The structure of his government was narrowly based. Catesby was one of the few who enjoyed his real confidence. Sometime in the second half of this year, 1484, one William Collingbourne was lampooning the triumvirate of chief counsellors in the well-known couplet:

The catte, the ratte, and Lovell our dogge
Rulyth all Englande under a hogge.

Which meant, as Fabyan was to put it, that "Catesby, Ratcliffe, and the lorde Lovell ruled the lande under the Kynge, which bare the whyte bore for his conysaunce". This critic of the Ricardian régime, a Yorkist agent of the king's mother deprived of his job in favour of Viscount Lovell, was too dangerous to live (it was felt), and he was condemned for treason before the end of 1484.² But there was no stopping the rot. Fresh commissions of array were issued on 8 December 1484, Catesby serving on those for Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Hertfordshire.³ He continued to profit by his close contacts with the king. On 15 February 1485, as one of the royal Esquires of the Body, he was granted in tail-male the hundred of Guilsborough (Northants.) with fines and franchises, at a rent of 4 marks a year to the king. At his death—although for how long is not known—he also occupied

¹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii. 465-6.

² J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York, 1399-1485*, ii. 528-9.

³ *C.P.R., 1477-1485*, pp. 488-9, 491.

the offices of constable of the castle and parker at More End in south Northamptonshire.¹

Catesby's authority as a member of the royal Council (or his reputation for great influence with the king) was particularly exemplified shortly after the death of Richard's Queen, Anne Neville, on 16 March 1485. Following the death of their son nearly a year before, Richard had recognized his nephew, the Earl of Lincoln, as his heir-presumptive, but it appears that even before his Queen died he was worried over the need for a direct heir and perhaps contemplated a divorce. A report was even going about that the king intended to marry his niece, Elizabeth, Edward IV's eldest daughter, whom there had already been plans to marry to Henry Tudor, and within three weeks of Queen Anne's death the king himself had to deny the truth of the slander to the chief citizens of London. Clearly, as a possible plan it was in shape. If we may believe the Croyland Chronicle, those in the royal Council most opposed to this choice of a second queen were Radcliffe and Catesby, *quorum sententiis vix unquam Rex ipse ausus fuit resistere*. This source relates that they told Richard to his face that even the northerners (among whom he enjoyed love and respect) would charge him with procuring the death of his queen, a daughter and heir of Warwick the Kingmaker, in order to enter an incestuous relationship, and that he must deny any such scheme. The chronicle further alleges that Catesby and his colleague (and kinsman) were afraid of the vengeance that Elizabeth of York would take on them, should she be made queen, for the death of those members of her mother's family (her uncle, Earl Rivers, and her step-brother, Sir Richard Grey) executed nearly two years before.²

In the uneasy months that lay between Easter 1485 and the final ruin of Catesby's lord and his own, but little is known of his activities. On 6 May his uncle, Sir John Catesby, Justice of Common Pleas, appointed him one of the executors of his will, which made provision for the disposal of nearly £800 between the testator's wife, two daughters, and eight sons, and for the

¹ C.P.R., 1477-1485, p. 497; *ibid.* 1485-1494, p. 60.

² *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum* (Oxford, 1684), i. 572.

entailing of most of his real estate on his eldest son, Humphrey : the money to be taken to the chamber of the Guildhall in London, there to be kept *secundum consuetudinem civitatis*.¹ On 25 May, both William and Justice Catesby were appointed members of a royal commission of oyer and terminer regarding counterfeiting and other coinage offences in the midland shires and especially in Coventry.² On 10 June, Francis Viscount Lovell, the King's Chamberlain, arranged for the feoffees of five of his Northamptonshire manors, among whom were his colleagues in the King's Council, Radcliffe and Catesby, to convey these estates to his wife for life, should he have died before her, on the understanding that, if they did so, she should find two priests to celebrate mass for his soul for thirty years in the University of either Oxford or Cambridge.³

At this time Richard III was standing by at Nottingham to meet alarms as they arose. On 7 August Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, landed at Milford Haven in Pembrokeshire. Eight days or so later he was at Shrewsbury. Another week later still, and the forces of the two contestants for the throne faced one another at Bosworth Field. Viscount Lovell, Lord Zouche (Catesby's brother-in-law), Sir Richard Radcliffe (his wife's kinsman by marriage), and Catesby himself were with the royal army. On 22 August 1485 the issue was decided, Richard III being killed in the battle, and in the evening of the day of his victory Richmond entered Leicester in triumph. Radcliffe had been killed. Lovell escaped to sanctuary at Colchester. Zouche, too, got away. But Catesby had been taken prisoner, and he alone of men of importance in the royal army who were so captured was executed after the battle. An exception to Henry VII's otherwise remarkable clemency, he went to the block at Leicester, possibly a sacrifice to local resentments generated in this, his own, region. This was presumably three days after the battle.⁴ The Croyland Chronicle merely notices his capture

¹ Somerset House, Register Milles, fol. 1. (The will was re-made on the day after Bosworth Field).

² *C.P.R., 1477-1485*, p. 544.

³ *Ancient Deeds*, iii. A 4790.

⁴ *The Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History* (Camden Society, 1844, vol. 29), ed. Sir Henry Ellis, p. 224. Polydore says that Catesby was

and death without giving a date: *qui inter omnes consiliarios defuncti jam Regis preeminebat, cujus caput apud Leicestriam pro ultima remuneratione tam excellentis officii sui abscisum est.*¹ It was at any rate on 25 August that Catesby made his will.²

This last deed of Catesby is a remarkable document in many ways, its terms emotionally instinct with their author's knowledge of his coming end. His wife Margaret was to be sole executrix, his "dere and welbeloved wife to whom I have ever be trew of my body". Requesting her forgiveness for any uncourteous dealings with her, he asked her not to re-marry but for all her days "to do for my soule". Not until the last apparently had he given up the hope that some of his earlier connections might yet bring him through, especially his wife's uncle by marriage, Lord Stanley, and his family: "my lordis Stanley, Strange [Lord Stanley's son], and all that blod, help and pray for my soule, for ye have not for my body, as I trusted in you". His previous relations with Lord Lovell had clearly been on an intimately friendly basis: "and [if] my lord Lovell come to grace than [then], that ye shew to hym that he pray for me." No reproach there. But even in his own family there were those who thought of him less, in his view, than they might have done: "and Uncle John [Justice Catesby], remembre my soule as ye have done my body, and better". His reference to the new king, his wife's own kinsman, was perhaps abject, but he was thinking of his children's rights in lands that now would likely go to some of Henry's supporters, following his own attainder: "I doute not the king wilbe good and gracious lord to them [his children], for he is callid a full gracious prince, and I never offended hym by my good and free will, for, God I take to my juge, I have ever lovid hym". There was some provision made for transactions in landed estate, "truly bought", that had not been entirely completed, at Buckby and Redenhall (in Norfolk), and any wrongfully purchased property was to be

executed two days after Bosworth Field, that is, on 24 August. The inscription on the brass over Catesby and his wife's tomb at Ashby St Legers gives the date of Catesby's death as 20 August. But this antedates the battle of Bosworth by two days, and, in any case, Catesby's will is clearly dated 25 August.

¹ *Rerum Anglicarum*, op. cit. i. 575.

² Somerset House, Register Logge, fol. 15.

restored. Catesby made reference to some of his debts, including the one outstanding to his saddler. His father's debts, especially what he had given to the house of Austin canons at Catesby, were also to be discharged. There were a few individual bequests: his wife's aunt, Margaret St. John, abbess of Shaftesbury, was to receive 40 marks, and "my lady of Buckingham" (Katherine, Duchess of Buckingham and sister of Edward IV's queen) was to have £100 to help her children and to see the debts of the late duke paid and his will executed, especially regarding a grant of land in mortmain to the college of secular priests at Pleshey (Essex). The Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and London were asked to help Catesby's wife to execute the will "and [if] they will do sume what for me".

The will was proved by Cardinal Bouchier (exercising his archiepiscopal prerogative) at Knode on 31 January 1486, Catesby's widow acting as executrix by proxy. Henry VII's first parliament had met at Westminster on 7 November 1485, and by this time its second and final session was a week old. The Speaker was Catesby's successor also in his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Thomas Lovell. The first session had seen the passage of an Act of Attainder against the most important of those who had taken up arms against the present king and levied war at Bosworth Field. They included William Catesby, who was condemned for treason to forfeit his estates whether held in fee-simple, fee-tail, or for term of life or lives.¹ There was some opposition among the Commons to the Act as a whole, but Henry VII was adamant: a correspondent of Sir Robert Plumpton wrote that "ther was many gentlemen agaynst it, but it wold not be, for yt was the Kings pleasure".²

Catesby's rôle in 1483 (after Buckingham's rebellion) was now assumed by others at his own family's expense, and for the next nine years royal grants parcelled out what of his forfeitures had at first come into immediate royal control. The work of a

¹ *Rot. Parl.* vi. 276a.

² *Plumpton Correspondence* (Camden Society, 1839), ed. Thomas Stapleton, p. 48.

century-and-a-half of steady, quiet accumulation of estate, mainly by marriage alliances, was soon at least partially undone. By the time that Catesby's " anniversary " came round, Kirby Bellars, Tilbrook, Braunston, Redenhall, and Botesworth had all been the subject of royal grants in tail-male, and more grants and re-grants followed, members of the new Tudor royal household being the chief recipients.¹ It is possible that the 1,000 marks-worth of goods belonging to Catesby, which the Chancellor (Bishop Alcock of Worcester) was granted by Henry VII on 5 April 1486, was used by him to assist the administration of Catesby's estate as the latter's testament had suggested. It is possible, but doubtful. There was really little room for clemency, accepted the thesis of Henry of Richmond's dynastic rights. Catesby's widow was related by blood with the new royal family, but both her husband and brother had fought for Richard Crookback. Her husband's fellow-counsellor, Sir Richard Radcliffe, killed at Bosworth, was husband to her step-sister. And in spite of the marriage of Catesby's son and heir, George, with Elizabeth, daughter of the Sir Richard Empson of Easton Neston (Northants.) who with Henry VII's accession resumed his former office of Attorney-General for the Duchy of Lancaster and became one of the " great projectors " of this reign,² it was not until after the passage of some ten years that Catesby's attainder was reversed, in the parliament of October 1495. Even then, the petition for the heir's rehabilitation, preferred by the Commons as one of their own bills, itself contained a proviso that restitution was not to apply to such grants of Catesby property as were then in force, and that the King's Chamber should be paid £100 a year for seven years by Bishop Alcock (now of Ely), Sir Richard Empson, and John Spenser (a creditor of William Catesby), who were to occupy those Catesby estates which were still in royal custody, merely as tenants, presumably on the heir's behalf.³ William Catesby's widow, Margaret, did not live to see this " act of adnullacion

¹ *C.P.R.*, 1485-1494, pp. 78, 96, 100, 121, 129, 209, 231, 275, 340, 404; *ibid.* 1494-1509, p. 11.

² Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, *op. cit.* p. 399a.

³ *Rot. Parl.* vi. 490b; *C.P.R.*, 1494-1509, p. 40.

and restitution " in her son's favour: she had died on 8 October 1494.¹

¹ Baker, *op. cit.* i. 244-5. William Catesby's family continued to hold the estates which had been restored and materially added to them during the sixteenth century. William's grandson, Sir Richard, was twice sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire (in 1540-1 and 1545-6) and twice of Northamptonshire (in 1542-3 and 1549-50), and he was knight of the shire for Warwickshire in Edwards VI's last parliament in 1553, before the dissolution of which he died. But later came setbacks culminating in disaster. Sir Richard's grandson and heir, William, was a staunch adherent of the old faith and suffered as a recusant, and *his* son Robert was so fanatical a Roman Catholic as to be involved in treason in Essex's Rebellion and again in the Gunpowder Plot, immediately after the discovery of which he was rooted out and killed. And, of course, he was attainted and incurred forfeiture. Both his two sons died without issue.

THE CONCLUSION OF VIRGIL'S *AENEID*:
A STUDY OF THE WAR IN LATIUM, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BOOKS XI AND XII.¹

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I HAVE heard of a scholar who never reads the second half of the *Aeneid* because he feels that Virgil's greatest achievement is contained in the first six books and that the latter part of the poem is a decline from this high standard of excellence. I would not deny that Books VII-XII suffer by comparison: they have not the timeless universality of Books II or IV or VI; but I believe that, if the earlier part of the *Aeneid* did not exist, and if the poem dealt, not with the voyage, but only with Aeneas's arrival in Italy, his war there, and the final settlement, this truncated epic would still be the best continuous poem in Roman literature, having all the characteristic Virgilian qualities and being a greater and more varied poem than the *Georgics*: it would never rise to the exalted intellectual passion which at moments flames in Lucretius, but it would have far more human interest and appeal from its far richer variety of scene and action, and it would maintain throughout its 5,000 lines a far more even standard of accomplishment and a much more melodious harmony of words and sound. Virgil in his description of the war in Italy is perhaps less than his own best; but his good infinitely surpasses in its range of incident, situation, characterization, and feeling, anything that has reached us from preceding or subsequent Latin epic writers.

The critics of the last century used to say that Virgil, in the two halves of his poem, had produced a Roman *Odyssey* and a Roman *Iliad*, an epic narrative of Aeneas's adventurous voyage from Troy to Italy, and an epic account of the war he fought in Italy in order to settle his Trojan exiles in a new kingdom. This

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 11th of March, 1959.

judgement has gone out of fashion nowadays ; but when one considers the profound influence which the Homeric model constantly exerts on the practice of Virgil, both in minor imitations too numerous to list in detail, and in important major similarities, I think it is inescapable that the older critics were right and that Virgil consciously accepted the Homeric pattern for the broad structure of his work, or for what I may call the architectural design of it. For example, the *Iliad* of Homer is more than a quarter as long again as his *Odyssey* ; even here Virgil seems to have kept the same proportion, and his war has a similar preponderance in length over the voyage. But the Alexandrine scholars imposed on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* a seeming equivalence, a seeming appearance of symmetry, by dividing each into twenty-four books, and Virgil has accepted the same idea of balanced symmetry for the voyage and for the war by making each consist of six books. But why *twelve* books rather than eight or ten or twenty? I know of no prescription before Virgil's time which appointed twelve books as a proper length for an epic poem in Greek or Latin. I can only suppose that the twelve books resulted from the growth of the work in the process of composition. I think it likely that he first planned the details of the voyage from Troy to Italy—that would seem to be the natural order of development : and then as the first half found its evolution to be complete in six books, the second half for reasons of symmetry was constructed to the same length. It seems to me, therefore, not unreasonable to say that the second half is in six books, not so much from an inner compulsive growth, but partly at least from the poet's desire for a formal equilibrium between the halves.

But if the account of the war had to fill six books, each of some 800 to 900 lines, will there be sufficient material to make out the space? After all, this war was the comparatively minor affair of a small Trojan descent on a petty kingdom in Latium, very different from the great Greek armament which sailed against the city of King Priam ; and such an insignificant war might seem by itself to afford small scope for epic portrayal (and by a non-military poet) when contrasted with the magnificent kings and heroes and divinities who fought in that terrific

struggle around Troy. The importance of this Italian war lay not in itself but in what it involved for the future. So apart from Aeneas and Turnus and a few others, the Roman poet has few characters to present in action compared with the Homeric. And if the Homeric pattern requires that the final combat of Achilles and Hector at the end of the *Iliad* shall be paralleled by a final combat between Aeneas and Turnus at the end of the Roman *Iliad*, how is Virgil to find and contrive and dispose his material so that he may fill his six war-books with credible, relevant, and interesting matter and save the duel of the protagonists for a final scene in the twelfth book? This combat of Aeneas and Turnus is to be made the *terminus ad quem*: how to reserve it for its place and how to furnish out the intervening books with action, episodes and events which will be probable in themselves and reasonably related to the main theme and be not unworthy of the poem, that is the poet's problem, and I would like to see how he deals with it. Speaking summarily and proleptically, I would say he does it in two ways, first by the insertion of episodes and descriptions which, however interesting in themselves, have a certain, but not very close, connection with the main theme and may therefore be counted as largely expletive; and secondly, by such a manipulation of the plot as will allow him plausibly to postpone the duel between Aeneas and Turnus to the very end of the poem where epic convention based on Homer would require it to be. In our scrutiny we shall see him using both these methods.

In Book VII the poet starts at once to lay the plot for his account of the war which in the earlier part of the *Aeneid* he had spoken of as awaiting the Trojans once they have landed in Italy at the appointed place; at the outset of the Book they have entered the Tiber and established themselves on the south bank of the river, in an encampment which they fortify strongly with earthworks and walls. Reconnaissance in the surrounding country reveals the city of Laurentum, some ten miles to the south, the capital where Latinus rules over his ancient kingdom of Latium. Friendly relations are soon established between the king and these famous Trojans, and it appears likely that the newcomers will soon be admitted to the kingdom as citizens with

equal rights, and that Aeneas will become the king's son-in-law and heir by marrying his only child Lavinia. Nothing could have been more promising and more satisfactory to the Trojans : they seem on the point of achieving a settlement without the predicted war : but their relentless enemy the goddess Juno, who had pursued them from Troy with her hatred and vengeance, now takes measures to render a peaceful settlement impossible ; and first by rousing the Latins against the strangers and invaders, and then by working on the mind of Turnus, prince of the neighbouring city of Ardea, who till then had been the most favoured suitor (though not the formally accepted suitor) for the princess, and finally by forcing an incident between the Latins and Trojans which leads to bloodshed and death, Juno creates alarm, resentment, fear and fury among the native peoples, so that Turnus with his injured pride and ambition finds it easy to whip up the excitement into an open declaration of war, and the summons goes forth to rouse all the associated Latin peoples and to mobilize an army that will hurl the invader back into the sea. It all forms a very fine and convincing description of the pathology of war-fever. Amid it Turnus emerges as the lordly, forceful, militant leader of the war-party in the Latin city : he commands influential support : he understands war and battles : he is at the head of an alarmed and excited population ; and he at once stands out as the Prince Rupert of the war, the fearless, active, dashing champion who will be Aeneas's chief opponent. The contrast between this proud, explosive young man who believes himself grievously wronged both as a patriot and as a suitor—the contrast between him and the grave, middle-aged, *pious Aeneas*, weighed down with responsibility and fate, is very marked, and Virgil seems at the beginning to be preparing our expectation for what he intends to be the climax of the war, an epic battle to the death between these two on the Homeric model.

There can be no combat yet, for in Book VIII both sides are looking for allies to support them in the war that has now been declared but has not yet been started in earnest. It is to the Greek cities (which at that time Virgil anachronistically imagines to be in process of establishment in Italy) that both Italians and Trojans turn for assistance ; the Italians with some confidence approach

Diomedes who is founding the city of Arpi in south-east Italy and it is thought that he will not refuse aid in a war against his old enemies the Trojans ; the Trojans surprisingly find aid in a Greek city, Pallanteum, which has been founded up the Tiber by Argive exiles under King Evander and his son Pallas, and they are willing to help the Trojans because Turnus has long been their enemy. I always find that Book VIII is strangely invested with an air of contentment and success which is unusual in the *Aeneid* : it shares this feeling with Book V ; and these are the only two books of the poem where, for a while, Aeneas appears unencumbered and moderately relaxed ; for he is out on an excursion, away from care and responsibility. He has left most of his people in the fortified encampment and has come upstream to treat with King Evander. The negotiations go well : trust and friendship are established : help is promised, and the possibility of larger and stronger help is indicated—for in Etruria, just north of the river, the Etruscans of Caere have rebelled against their king, Mezentius, who has escaped and put himself under Turnus's protection and is indeed one of Turnus's lieutenants in the war against the Trojans : and at that very moment (says Evander) the Etruscans are mobilizing to sail south and recapture Mezentius for punishment. Aeneas determines to win them as allies and, sending instructions to his men in the fortified camp to stay strictly under cover, he mounts on horseback (this versatile man !) and goes to Etruria where he soon arranges a compact. That is the skeleton outline of Book VIII, as far as the war is concerned : but as Pallanteum, Evander's city, is imagined to be on the site later to be occupied by Rome, and as the *Aeneid* is a national rather than a personal epic, Virgil enjoys the opportunity of escorting Aeneas round the seven hills where the oxen and sheep are grazing and of contrasting the prehistoric with the actual Rome, and of explaining the origin of the worship of Hercules and the special place of Hercules and his altar in the religious ritual of the city. This appeal to national interest and pride is further stressed at the end of the Book by the account Virgil gives of the pictures emblazoned on the divinely made shield of Aeneas—each picture connected with some memorable scene in the history of Rome. In this second half of the *Aeneid*

there will be much less opportunity for historical display or historical eulogy than in the first part : and here in Book VIII Virgil has magnificently used two splendid opportunities of appealing to the patriotic interest of his audience—the contrast between the obscure Pallanteum of the heroic age and the Imperial Rome of Augustus, and the *clipei non enarrabile textum* (VIII. 625) containing the *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*. In a national poem like the *Aeneid* such patriotic and historical themes undoubtedly merit their place : but as I read the eighth book I always find myself wondering whether in the general economy of the epic the long episode of Hercules and Cacus (whatever its merits as a story) is really justified in the space it occupies and whether it is not in some degree to be described as expletive. It seems to me to exemplify one method by which Virgil used semi-relevant material to fill out his projected measure.

I have already said that the Homeric influence throughout the *Aeneid* is strong, not only in details of expression, action and behaviour, but in important resemblances like the making of the shield and the descent into Avernus. I should add in justice that Virgil is not a copyist. He *does* take the idea or device from Homer ; but he alters and varies it to suit his purpose. The plan of an *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has suggested to Virgil the idea of a voyage and a war in his *Aeneid*, but neither the voyage nor the war is a close copy of its Homeric prototype ; the visit to the spirits of the underworld and the making of a shield with heraldic emblems are Homeric in origin, but vastly altered in Virgil. It is so in every major incident which is based on Homer : each is changed in its application and development : the situation in which Virgil uses it is of his own invention, not a copy of Homer's. And so, as we approach Book IX, we shall see two situations which must have been suggested by the *Iliad* : the dominance and success of Turnus during Aeneas's absence from the war recall the success of Hector during the absence of Achilles, and the expedition of Nisus and Euryalus is doubtless suggested by the foray of Odysseus and Diomedes in *Iliad* X : but while the idea of such scenes comes from Homer, and Virgil thus recognizes in the Homeric practice a canon of epic, the

actions themselves are very far from similar. Virgil follows his model, constructively, not slavishly.

The actual fighting begins in Book IX. It begins when Aeneas is away in Etruria and when the main Trojan force, in obedience to his orders, is keeping within the defences of the encampment and not venturing to meet the enemy in the open. The fighting begins suddenly, with the swift approach of Turnus's cavalry from Laurentum: the Trojan ships are set afire as they lie beached on the river bank: the camp is invested: the watch-fires of the enemy can be seen glowing in the darkness all round the perimeter of the fortifications: the main attack of Turnus is timed for the following day. Now follows the long episode of Nisus and Euryalus: they volunteer to carry to Aeneas in Etruria the news of the Trojans' danger, and they receive permission to leave the camp on this errand. But, once away, they allow themselves, in a youthful passion for winning glory, to be beguiled into a foray against the Latins, and this misguided valour costs them their life, and means the failure of their mission. This episode makes a most interesting and moving tale. It is one of the memorable scenes in the war. It derives from the crisis in the Trojan camp. It takes place by night when no other fighting is contemplated. But with its origin, its development, its climax, its conclusion, and its aftermath of suffering and mourning, it occupies from line 176 to line 502, a large section of the Book: and if you add the immediately preceding transformation of the ships which Turnus had attempted to burn, 426 lines or more than half the Book have been given to two episodes which contribute nothing to the action of the plot or the progress of the war. Indeed it is not till line 503 that the war-trumpet sounds and the attack proper begins:

at tuba terribilem sonitum procul aere canoro
increpuit, sequitur clamor caelumque remugit.

The remaining 300 lines are largely given to the ἀπιστεία of Turnus, as he drives home the attack on the camp and even manages to penetrate through the gates and carry the fighting into the passage-ways, until by a supreme effort of the defenders he is driven back and forced to escape by swimming the river.

Virgil is always exceedingly good in the episodes of his epic. They are finished blocks of narrative having some connection with the main theme; but being complete in themselves they can be enjoyably read in isolation. But it could never be said that our poet presses on with any urgency of action. "Semper ad eventum festinat", says Horace in praise of Homer, stressing the directness of his narrative and its freedom from undue digressions. Virgil, on the contrary, has no such forward surge of movement: he almost indulges himself in these digressions: the war which had started with such intensity of excitement in Book VII has been almost forgotten in the peacefulness of Book VIII; and now when it makes a bold commencement in Book IX, it is not allowed to get going. "Erat in celeritate omne positum certamen"—you will recall the recurrent phrase of Caesar in his description of battles in the Civil and Gallic Wars: nothing could be less true of Virgil's battle-order: he almost seems to have an interest in delay—as if, having determined on six books of the war to balance six books of the voyage, he was anxious to make sure of having sufficient material to fill out the measure of them. I again suggest that it is Virgil's intention, by whatever device, by whatever intercalation, to postpone the combat of Turnus and Aeneas and to ensure that it forms the final scene of the epic at the close of Book XII; and I believe that it is possible to watch him inventing and inserting material so that the desired climax may be plausibly put off till its appointed time.

In Book X we are given more than one indication that, though Turnus has been successful in the first battle, his fate is impending. The Council of the Gods, with which the Book opens, contributes nothing to the advancement of the action: it follows the example of Homer in the Fourth and Eighth Books of the *Iliad*, but (as Conington remarks) "it seems to be introduced for its own sake rather than to serve the needs of the poem". It is impressively scenic and decorative, but it achieves nothing, though Jupiter had summoned it in chagrin because he thought one of the gods must be treacherously extending and prolonging the war to the disadvantage of the Trojans and in opposition to the decrees of Fate of which he

was the mouthpiece. At the end of the Council, after listening to the fervid *ex parte* pleas of Venus and Juno, the Father of Gods and Men, far from taking a decisive line, makes an inconclusive utterance proclaiming his neutrality in the conflict and leaving human affairs to work themselves out, for the time being, in whatever way they will develop. The ineffectiveness and indeed uselessness of this otherwise magnificent scene suggest that Virgil did not want at this point to bring matters to a conclusion between Aeneas and Turnus: it suits him to present Jupiter as aloof and undecided, for otherwise a drastic intervention (such as comes in Book XII) would have brought an end to the war far too soon—at any rate, far too soon for a poet who is trying to maintain the symmetrical balance of the two halves of the epic! But the Book is full of hints and warnings of the doom that awaits Turnus. Though the crisis may be postponed, we are not allowed to suppose that it may be totally avoided or changed. It will come in its due place as the conclusion of the poem: meanwhile the poet will use any suitable device of epic machinery to defer the inevitable and to keep the protagonists apart—a necessity which makes a considerable call on his inventiveness and our credulity; for by now Aeneas and his Etruscan allies have arrived in the Tiber estuary and have landed on the beaches and are storming up to the relief of the camp, and both champions are fighting in the same battle and Aeneas is looking for his enemy Turnus all over the field. But at this very point when Aeneas, infuriated by the killing and spoliation of his young ally Pallas, is bent on finding and killing Turnus,

. . . latumque per agmen
ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum
caede noua quaerens,

at this very moment, when we should have expected them to meet and to finish the war, the poet dodges the emergency and carries us again to witness a scene in heaven where Juno is begging Jupiter to grant a deliverance for Turnus, so that she may convey him safely out of the battle and out of danger and save him to succeed his aged father as king of the Rutulians: and Jupiter is represented as saying that to deliver Turnus from his doom is

beyond the power even of the omnipotent, but that a short reprieve, a brief remission, is possible and may be granted :

“ si mora praesentis leti tempusque caduco
oratur iuueni meque hoc ita ponere sentis,
tolle fuga Turnum atque instantibus eripe fatis :
hactenus indulsisse uacat.”

Juno at once avails herself of this permission : the poet calls to her aid a not very convincing Homeric device—an apparition, or artificial wraith of Aeneas, which she sends within sight of Turnus so that, following to kill it, he is lured away from the neighbourhood of the real Aeneas, enticed on to a ship, carried out to sea, and landed further down the coast near the home-city of his father Daunus. So the final struggle is again avoided ; and the genuine Aeneas spends the rest of the Book vainly looking for Turnus and, in default dealing with Turnus's lieutenants, Mezentius and his son Lausus.

At this point let me say that I am not in this paper primarily concerned with the poetry of these Books : I am concerned with the frame and structure of the work, and to show roughly how it took on its present shape. I do not forget the supremely moving beauty of some of the scenes which Virgil has portrayed here, nor the nobility of his characters, nor the sheer executive accomplishment of his poetic technique. It is not my intention in any way to ignore the artistic achievement of this very great poet. But at the moment I am chiefly interested to see if one can discern in Virgil's arrangement of material some indication of his studied planning to make the structure of the epic conform to what one may call the Homeric pattern. The studied planning is well concealed : the very beauty of the poetry sometimes disguises it : but it is possible to see it and to realize how the development, the arrangement, of the scenes and episodes, is controlled by the poet's concern to make his epic take the required shape and last out for the pre-determined length, so that much even of the most admired episodic material has been inserted to fill out the six books, or to render feasible the postponement of the clash between Aeneas and Turnus. How then will that clash be prevented in Book XI, where we find Aeneas organizing his forces for a march against the city of Laurentum,

and we see Turnus again in command of the Latin army which is drawn up to defend the city? Will the personal combat, which seemed inevitable in Book X and yet was avoided, be equally avoidable in the new battle of Book XI?

When Book XI opens, Aeneas is still at the Trojan camp where the first decisive battle against Turnus and the Latins had been won. He is erecting a trophy of victory, clearing up the battlefield, collecting and burning the dead, sending home to Evander the body of his son Pallas with a splendid contingent of troops as escort, arranging a burial truce with the Latins, and at the same time heartening his commanders with a strong assurance of rapid and complete success in the next phase of operations. In the city of Laurentum Turnus has somehow returned from Ardea and has reassumed leadership of the Latin army; and though the recent defeat and loss have created among the citizens a peace-party which is now all for making an arrangement with the Trojans, Turnus still occupies a dominant position and is still supported by a strong anti-Trojan party which admires his war-record and is glad to trust him (XI, 222-4). But there can be heard the grumbling anger of disappointed or bereaved citizens, protesting against the use of them as expendible lives to enhance Turnus's glory and ambition, and calling on him to save them and end the war by offering a personal combat between himself and Aeneas. This demand for a personal settlement of what has now come to be regarded as almost a personal issue is so angrily and tauntingly voiced in the Council meeting (XI. 368-75) by the demagogue Drances, Turnus's chief opponent, that Turnus in his reply is prepared to accept the challenge if that should seem necessary (XI. 434-44). Thus Virgil is again preparing his readers' minds for his projected conclusion to the epic; but the time is not yet, for the combat does not take place in Book XI. We shall see how Virgil postpones it again.

The political pressure that was being put on Turnus in the Council is suddenly relieved by the arrival of a messenger with the news that the Trojans and their allies are approaching the city: and the general feeling of danger is so immediate and so sharp that all rally to Turnus for leadership and protection, and

he finds himself again the war-lord with unquestioned command of the Latin forces. He is exultant. This is the breath of life to him : he is a fighter, a warrior, a man who loves action and despises the wordy processes of deliberation and statesmanship. He has information from his scouts that Aeneas's army is advancing in two columns, the cavalry along the maritime plain, the infantry under Aeneas's personal command through the hills a little inland. So he orders his own cavalry under Camilla and Messapus to meet the Trojan cavalry, while he and his soldiers go into the hills to prepare an ambush and there destroy Aeneas's army : whereupon he lays the ambush and waits for the kill. For the moment it looks bad for Aeneas. But no sooner has Virgil arranged this encounter than he switches from Turnus, and proceeds at great length to describe the cavalry-battle on the plain and in particular to follow the fortunes of Camilla : through 300 lines of the Book he gives details of her *curriculum vitae*—her birth, her curious upbringing, her father's eccentricity, her dedication to Diana, her prowess in general, her exploits on this occasion, and finally her wounding and death on the field—a vast excursus, undoubtedly of much interest and beauty and very moving to read, but almost a separate entity, a poem within a poem. When Camilla is killed and her troops are forced back on the city and the danger of an attack is imminent, the news of the disaster makes Turnus abandon his ambush and withdraw hurriedly to the city, so that Aeneas passes the scene of the ambush unscathed and unsuspecting, and reaches the city almost at the same time as Turnus. They catch sight of one another momentarily, says the poet (XI. 908-14), and then and there would have fought it out between them, only the sun was setting and the day was darkening to night. So both armies camp outside the walls and build defences (XI. 915) in a solid Roman way,

considunt castris ante urbem et moenia uallant.

“ That most ineffective ambush of the eleventh *Aeneid* ”, says Professor Summers in his *History of Literature*. It may seem so, but we know better. As a military manœuvre it is useless : as a dilatory poetic tactic it is most effective. Again Virgil has skilfully arranged his situation so as to postpone the combat which heaven and earth now know to be inevitable and which,

once it is decided, will give a firm settlement to harassed Latium.

At last the poet has reached his Twelfth Book and it might be thought that there is now no more need for temporizing. The Homeric precedent of an *Iliad* coming to a climax with the duel between Achilles and Hector will now be fulfilled by a Roman *Iliad* ending with a single combat between Aeneas and Turnus. And indeed the Book opens with a clamour among the twice-defeated Latins for just this kind of issue to the war (XII. 1-3 and 10-13):

Turnus ut infractos aduerso Marte Latinos
defecisse uidet, sua nunc promissa reposci,
se signari oculis, . . . ita turbidus infit :
" nulla mora in Turno ; nihil est quod dicta retractent
ignaua Aeneadae, nec quae pepigere recusent.
concredior."

The following day a solemn agreement, solemnly made with due ritual and formality, is concluded between Aeneas, Latinus and Turnus, with the assembled forces of both peoples looking on : and the arena for the fight that will end the war is marked out, with places fixed for the soldiers of both sides, while the women and non-combatants crowd along the walls and the buildings. Surely the long-expected duel will take place at last and, as an outcome of it, we shall see Aeneas organizing his new kingdom and establishing his Trojans in their new lands and amid their new neighbours. In reading the *Aeneid* I have always felt a certain disappointment that Virgil did not end the epic on a happier note. I wanted Aeneas to win after all he had gone through, and I would have liked to see him come into his kingdom amid a scene of triumphant rejoicing because all the dangers of the voyage and of the war had been faced and at last overcome. This man of sorrows has had so much to endure in the course of the poem that I wished for him and his people a time of tranquil accomplishment in which we could see him at peace—like Antenor in Book I, 249, *nunc placida compostus pace quiescit*. But it was not to be. Virgil is resolved that the duel must be reserved for the final scene of the poem, and so here at the outset of the Twelfth Book he must postpone the climax for another 800 lines.

How does he achieve this? He imagines that perpetual enemy of the Trojans, the goddess Juno, to be watching the scene of preparation for the combat from her viewing-post on the Alban Hills. She recognizes that Turnus is doomed if he once engages in the battle (XII. 149-50) :

nunc iuuenem imparibus uideo concurrere fatis,
Parcarumque dies et uis inimica propinquat.

So she sends his sister Juturna, a divinity of the Italian lakes and rivers, with full authority to attempt any expedient that will help to save him ; and Juturna, taking on the form of an Italian warrior and seeing that the Italian army is moved with sympathy for Turnus's predicament, passes to and fro among the watching troops, working on their feelings and urging them to rescue their leader and avoid subjection to these foreigners. Her trick succeeds : the fight between the armies begins as a skirmish of individuals but soon develops into a general engagement in which the treaty and all its solemn undertakings are completely forgotten (XII. 282),

sic omnes amor unus habet, decernere ferro.

The good Aeneas is much appalled at this faithlessness : he rushes unarmed into the battle and tries to recall his Trojans from the mêlée (XII. 313-17)

"quo ruitis? quaeue ista repens discordia surgit?
o cohibete iras ! ictum iam foedus et omnes
compositae leges, mihi ius concurrere soli,
me sinite atque auferte metus ; ego foedera faxo
firma manu, Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra."

But at this very moment Aeneas is wounded by a chance arrow and so badly wounded that he has to be helped off the field for medical treatment ; and Turnus makes full use of this intermission to retrieve his fortunes. Again Virgil has contrived the situation in such a way that Aeneas and Turnus are not ranging the battle together. The incident of Aeneas's wounding and healing is an admirable little episode, one of the most attractive in the Book, full of human interest and human sympathy ; but exquisite as it is, it serves a definite purpose in the dramatic movement of the epic—to take Aeneas out of the way when every circumstance proclaims that *now* is the moment for the final

combat, and it keeps him out of the way until Turnus, by another device, can be conveyed from the immediate foreground and placed well out of reach of any immediate harm from Aeneas. "But what reason had our author to wound Aeneas at so critical a time?"—the indignant question is asked by John Dryden in his *Dedication to the Aeneis*. The plain answer is that our author had his own very good reason: he is once again delaying the catastrophe, and he has done it by a device so attractive that the watchfulness of his readers is almost beguiled.

When Aeneas does return (cured by the miraculous intervention of his divine mother), Turnus has been conveyed, well out of danger, to the opposite side of the battle by his sister Juturna's ruse of turning herself into the semblance of his chariot-eer and so steering him away from Aeneas's orbit. It is only when Aeneas, in despair of finding Turnus, directs his army against the city itself and when the Trojans are bursting into the gates and over the walls—it is only *then* that Turnus, in order to save Laurentum from destruction, decides to offer himself as a sacrifice for his people, and returns to stop the general fighting and at last meets Aeneas as man to man in what is to be the final decision. Meanwhile up in heaven the finality of the war is realized: in a magnificently impressive scene the Father of Gods and Men forbids Juno to harry the Trojans further, and it is agreed between them that a new combined nation of Trojans and Italians shall be formed, Italian in name, customs, speech, and laws, but with Trojan worship merged in the Italian, and that from this new nation shall in process of time be born Rome and the Romans. On earth the duel between the two champions continues its grim course: Virgil has expended all his art in depicting it: by similes, by epithets, by descriptions, by comparisons, by hyperbole, he writes up the labours and exertions of these two heroes:

stupet . . .
ingentes, genitos diuersis partibus orbis,
inter se coiisse uiros et cernere ferro

(XII. 707-9):

but to me it loses effect after that authoritative closure of the opposition in heaven: it is merely the working out, on the human

plane, of the portentous decision that is the Will of Fate. The end is determined. Turnus knows that he must die because heaven is against him (XII. 895): "*di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*"; and the knowledge saps his physical strength: but one admires his courage of spirit and his self-sacrifice as he meets death. The contest between him and Aeneas is prolonged and is full of conventional heroic prowess; but I doubt whether, when it comes, it was worth waiting for, over such a stretch of time. It has been postponed and reserved as the greatest scene to form the conclusion of the Roman *Iliad*, and yet I feel that it is rather an anti-climax, as it were a consequential tail-piece, to the lofty and majestic decision that has just been taken in heaven—where, after all, the final authority resides to settle men's destiny for more than a thousand years.

As I consider Virgil's task in the *Aeneid*, I have much sympathy with that unhomeric follower of Homer, and I would like to present his apologia. He had set himself to imitate the heroic epic, and in trying to deal with war and battle-scenes he found he could not do it easily, but had to excogitate, to elaborate, to work hard at presenting fighters of the supposed heroic age, those tough virile stalwart untiring beings, whose killings and braggart destructiveness he could indeed describe but only with an effort of invention. He is far more at home with the human qualities of courage, faith, endurance, and magnanimity, the qualities that most often call out his admiration and sympathy. He understood human weaknesses—the noble weakness of Dido, the futile weakness of Nisus and Euryalus in their hunger for glory, and the lack of pity that was Turnus's weakness: he understood the political arts, and on occasion he can argue a case with as much clever and pointed rhetoric as any declaimer in the elder Seneca's *controversiae*. He understands the grandeur of power as exemplified in Jupiter who presides over the governing Council of the Universe, and whose spoken will is Destiny. I think, therefore, that being the man he was, Virgil in his epic welcomed any diversion, episode, personal exploit, which would be connected with the war by however tenuous a link, but which would deliver him from the necessity, abhorrent to a gentle and peaceful nature, of multiplying the incidents of the battlefield.

If he does give descriptions of the carnage, he does it as a requirement of the Homeric epic, and it was doubtless attractive to some of his Roman readers. He gives enough to prove that this kind of thing is not beyond him ; but I am sure that he was conscious, as most modern readers are conscious, of what Conington has called " the tedium of the Virgilian battle-scene ". His invention and imagination are therefore directed to finding scenes that, as far as is possible, will deliver him from the fighting and will make the war a matter of character, situations, descriptions, and human emotions rather than an account of battles and tactics and wounds and death and glory. This partly explains why our poet is so slow in getting to the war itself. He prefers the preliminaries and related activities of war, as in Book VII the negotiations between Aeneas and Latinus, the return of Turnus from Ardea to Laurentum, the wild riot of Queen Amata's Bacchanals, the chance accident that sparks off the explosion, the war fury that sweeps the people, the custom of opening the Gates of War, the mustering of contingents from the towns and villages of Italy. Similarly in Book XI Virgil seems in no hurry to get to the fighting : all the funeral ceremonies and obsequies are most exactly detailed : the scene in the Council Chamber of Latinus is one of the most varied and dramatic in the whole epic—I would venture to say that, artistically considered, it is the most exciting piece of major construction in Books VII to XII ; and then we have at great length the story of Camilla's upbringing. All this is allied to the war, but how much more sympathetic it is to Virgil's temperament than the details of fighting ! It seems to me that he welcomes the chance of dealing with matters which, though they give little or no impetus to the action, are vastly more interesting and congenial to himself (and indeed to his readers) than the fighting.

I have one further reflection to suggest about the conclusion of the *Aeneid*. We have seen how Virgil is resolved, in obedience to Homeric precedent, to keep the combat between Aeneas and Turnus for the final scene of his poem—and on the earthly plane of action it makes a suitable ending. But the decision on the heavenly plane is by far the more important. The purpose of Heaven (for all action commences and derives from a

celestial decree of Fate) is to bring the Trojan remnant to Italy and establish it there : this is the compass of the heavenly plan and it is the compass of Virgil's epic. The plan is willed by Jupiter : opposition to the plan is started by Juno : the earthly minister of Jupiter's will is Aeneas, the god-guided man finding his way from Troy to Latium by such pointers and indications as communication between the divine world and the human world can provide. The obstacles to his progress are created by such means and by such temptations to deviation as a divine opponent can contrive. On the human side we naturally see more of the difficulties and delays and dangers : but the heavenly contest is by far the more significant ; and when in Book XII Jupiter calls Juno to account and she submits, the struggle is over : the will of Heaven is now united and single : Jupiter, Juno and Venus are reconciled in an agreement that the people, which is to be Rome, may be established in Italy : this is the paramount decision and the paramount triumph : and on the earthly plane the combat ends as is inevitable, once the divine opposition is withdrawn. Turnus is killed by Aeneas as, in a way, a visible sign that the decision taken in heaven is effective on earth : but the earthly cessation is no more than a consequence of the heavenly compact. All through the *Aeneid* the earthly action seems to be the working out (with such strength or ability or wisdom or submission as men can command) of grave and momentous decisions taken by supernatural beings.

Does all this give any indication of the religious belief of Virgil? Had he a gradually accumulated conviction (such as experience brings to many men) that there is a power in the Universe which governs for good, whose purpose may be traced in past history, but which cannot be seen in its present workings because the evolution of its policy is timed to the passage of centuries, not to the speed of months or years. Apart from some such belief I cannot comprehend the *Aeneid* : in it there is a Fate, a god, whose will is beneficent, not for the individual mortal as such, but for the totality of mankind. This Will uses men for the accomplishment of its purpose : there are means of communication between heaven and earth—prayer, signs, oracles, portents, omens and apparitions : the means are often

ineffective, but the attentive can hear and can be made to cooperate with the Supreme Will in a limited way and with only partial knowledge : but sometimes (as to Aeneas in Book VI) a vision of the fuller extent and scope of God's will is granted, and that is a joyful and inspiring occasion. Mostly, however, man's work with and for God is hard, beset with dangers, restless and exhausting : the search for peace and security (as exemplified in Aeneas) is frustrating. Man has faith in the wisdom of God ; but man is not allowed to see the end from the beginning, and therefore his faith is born of hope, not of knowledge. Man is necessarily an empiricist, doing his best from day to day to cope with situations and guiding his decisions and actions by such light as has been given to him : but he makes many mistakes and may go far wrong and may have to retrace his steps. In the end, like Aeneas, he may see some accomplishment or the beginning of something which his children or children's children may be destined to accomplish : if one may misquote Virgil, *requies ea sera laborum*.

RUSKIN'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH MISS BLANCHE ATKINSON¹

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WHEN John Ruskin wrote the first of his *Fors Clavigera* letters on New Year's Day 1871 he addressed it specifically to the workmen and labourers of Great Britain. This letter, like its ninety-five successors, was written in a warm, friendly spirit striking a closely personal note that invited reply. Accordingly, in February of the following year, he announced his intention to reserve at the end of each *Fors* letter a page for correspondence. The habit of replying to points in *Fors* letters grew and by January 1873 he was able to write that he had received "quite a little mailcartful of consolation, reproof and advice".² The following spring he decided to address some of his letters to his young lady readers, and thenceforward the young lady had an accepted place in *Fors*. It may therefore be assumed that many ladies of all ages were numbered among *Fors* regular readers and that this fact gave Ruskin considerable satisfaction. He was acutely aware, and really rather proud, of the flutter he could raise in female society; he knew that the ladies, young and old, listened eagerly to his counsel, be it on dress, education or religion. *Sesame and Lilies* and *The Ethics of the Dust* stand as monuments to this feminine interest, as do also certain letters in *Fors Clavigera*. In fact, the *Fors* letters often served as a means of introduction to their distinguished author.

One young lady who used *Fors* in this way was Miss Blanche Atkinson, the unhappy, somewhat frustrated daughter of a prosperous Liverpool soap manufacturer. Blanche, irked by the social convention that kept her idle at home, was an avid

¹ Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Ruskin Trustees and to their publisher, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., for permission to include extracts from various unpublished letters quoted in this article.

² *Fors* 3, xxv. 4 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.).

reader of *Fors*. Encouraged by the friendliness of the letters, no less than by the plea for financial help for his proposed Guild of St. George, she posted in March 1873 her first subscription along with a note of appreciation of his work. And so the correspondence began. During the first three years of their friendship she received a hundred letters from him ; forty others were written between the years 1876 and, probably, 1886. These letters, treasured by Blanche during her lifetime, later carefully preserved first by Mrs. Talbot, then by Canon Rawnsley—both well-loved and loyal Companions of the Guild of St. George—and now gifted to the John Rylands Library by Canon Rawnsley's widow, tell a fascinating story of the friendship between a great Victorian man of letters and an unhappy young woman of twenty-six.

Blanche was quick to confide in Ruskin, to tell him of her dull, rather difficult life at home with her mother, aggressive father, quarrelsome sister and brothers and, at hand, if not at home, an argumentative and materially minded brother-in-law. It is obvious from Ruskin's letters to her that she longed for a very different kind of life and, at the same time, felt guilty about her feelings of discontent. Ruskin, whose ready sympathy was drawn by her unhappiness, was gratified by her " pretty confiding letter " ¹ and, in a confidence born maybe of his own experience of domestic dispute, he gave her comfort and advice. He urged her to ignore the people on the touchline of her life who condemned her fits of depression, and instead to accept cheerfully, as a good Christian, the burden of her present unhappiness and to concentrate on the sufferings of others. He instinctively understood the barrier that divided Blanche and her father : when she attacked her father's view that his approval was the determining factor in the spending of his money, Ruskin hastened to defend the rights of the money-earner. At the same time he tried to develop in her a less rebellious and a more sympathetic attitude towards parental authority ; the sad memory of his own father and of his own misunderstanding of him may have prompted him to give her the following advice :

Fathers are intensely grateful for *real* love. They scarcely ever know what it

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/2 (27.3.73).

is they want—unless they get it. They think they want the children's good—and obedience—and all the rest of it. The one thing they do want, is honest love.¹

He strove to make her realize that obedience to her father was a sacred duty, that her immediate task was to study him and so come to know him as an individual with virtues to be admired and weaknesses to be accepted. Ruskin clearly suspected harshness and moral tyranny to be among her father's weaknesses, but his advice was calculated to avoid friction and sometimes it was curt, even cruel :

Girls in their father's houses must just bear what's wrong, as the cats and dogs do—always keeping in their own mind about it, nevertheless.²

As he saw it, the immediate challenge of life for Blanche was to be met in her own home and not, as she hoped, in outside service to his Guild of St. George. It was characteristic of him to tell her that for the moment she could meet that challenge at the dinner table by attempting to set a standard of rational conversation among her women friends, or in the matter of simple but elegant dressing ; it was equally characteristic that he should condemn hospital, charitable or other social work and urge in their place set periods of daily study.

That these letters gave comfort, interest and even purpose to Blanche's dreary life is as obvious as it is true, but what is harder to understand is the measure of comfort they gave to Ruskin himself. When their correspondence was only a few weeks old, he wrote at the end of a letter :

Goodbye for a little while now—but your letters help me so you may write—when you like—only I can't possibly answer always—though.³

Possibly he was helped by her admiration of his work and of himself, maybe he found satisfaction in his conviction that he could help Blanche to face her domestic difficulties, or—and this may well be the real reason—his intense interest in women was nourished by the formulative influence he could exert on her. Blanche was clay in his hands, a loyal and devoted admirer, anxious but not always able to carry out his advice on the management of her social life in Liverpool. When her resolution flagged and she felt unequal to the task he had set her, she sent

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/4 (3.4.73).

² Ibid. 104 (n.d.).

³ Ibid. 5 (n.d.).

him pathetic excuses and appeals for his forgiveness. The increasing prosperity of her father brought a wider social life for the family, and for Blanche a greater opportunity of accepting invitations to bazaars, dinners and parties. She told Ruskin all about these invitations ; no incident in her life seemed to be too trivial to record, be it the loss of a new muff, an argument with her sister, or a dream in which he appeared to her. Dreams were no trivial matter to Ruskin, and he explained carefully in his reply that he had a great reverence for dreams and was eager to know every detail of hers. His questions obviously caused Blanche great embarrassment, for at the top of his letter she wrote this note in pencil :

I had foolishly told him of a dream I had about him—in which for a long time he was invisible—and that when at last I saw him he was " horrid " and he never forgot it and I could not explain.¹

It was almost as if he were apprehensive of his appearance in her dreams for several months later he was still questioning her :

It's a great relief to my mind to know you've got a photograph of me. I'm really not as bad as that and it's no wonder you've ugly dreams of me and no good ones. All the same I'm quite like a girl for curiosity to know what that dream was.²

He could not influence her there, but his influence proved more potent on the subject of Church bazaars. Her mention in the spring of 1873 about a forthcoming bazaar incensed Ruskin who promptly advised her to stay at home and not waste her time on such activity. In confusion and despair the demurring Blanche explained that her absence would be noted by her friends and members of the congregation, and that an awkward situation would arise at home as well as at church. Clearly she expected that he would consent to her visit, but instead came a hasty letter from London dated 15 May, in which he wrote :

. . . if I'm in time, I absolutely forbid you to go to that bazaar—or spend a farthing at it.—It is merely a vile method of sneaking robbery. If a clergyman can't build his own home—let him live in a ditch—or hold his false tongue at least from begging, and learn to do something useful.

The more " remarks " your refusal draws, the better : provided you don't do it for that purpose. Do right and let people say and things go as they will.³

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/14 (8.6.73). ² Ibid. 50 (n.d.) ³ Ibid. 9 (15.5.73).

It was not easy to be one of Ruskin's pupils, but doubtless Blanche avoided the bazaar and suffered, for his sake, the rebukes she feared. Even more difficult for her was the rôle he wanted her to play when on shopping expeditions with wealthy friends. He expected her to attempt to sublimate their shopping instincts by persuading them to allocate the money they proposed to pay for a model garment to a worthier cause. Ruskin realized of course that her request would bring only refusal, but he seemed to feel that the making of the request would be salutary for both Blanche and her friends. She reacted to his challenge like a knight to a crusade and set off to the shops intent on converting her friends to Ruskin's idea but at the crucial moment, the moment when a costly garment was about to be purchased, her resolution failed and she was unable to frame the request. She wrote dejectedly to Ruskin confessing her cowardice and expecting heavy censure, but instead she received a note of sympathetic understanding of her difficulty. It was inevitable that the subject of dress sense should arise in Ruskin's letters. He invited Blanche to tell him about her appearance, the colour and style of her hair, the kind of dress she wore, and he urged her, as he urged his women readers of *Fors* and many of his women friends, to make the most of her appearance. His advice was singularly sound :

Know your own best points—dress to show them modestly and honestly—not conceitedly—buy the best stuffs for wear or washing—obey fashion only to avoid being insolent or conspicuous—if it becomes monstrous (as in high heeled boots just now) defy it, showing reason why, if asked.¹

He reminded her that the well-dressed woman had good colour sense and wore neat but not costly clothes that were attractively trimmed with embroidery, ribbons or flowers.

The desire to please Ruskin in her studies, her observations on life, in her thoughts and feelings, grew with the letters. She even rather unwisely tried to represent him verbally and intellectually in her conversations with relatives and friends, many of whom seemed able easily to dispose of her arguments—especially her father's wealthy manufacturing acquaintances. Sometimes they succeeded in converting her to their view and Blanche,

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/3 (3.4.73).

dazzled by their forceful arguments, would write to Ruskin to explain the fallacy in his. At a dinner-party in the spring of 1875 she met a wealthy industrialist whose definition of progress so impressed her that she wrote at once to share her enlightenment with Ruskin. He made swift reply :

What a goose you are, in spite of all your cleverness.—Women are all alike, I find. Fancy letting yourself be talked over by your manufacturer host. Whatever he is of good—or well-meaning (and I've known the best manufacturers and merchants going)—he is a clown—§ educated—knowing nothing of art—literature—or true science and not much of honesty—'Better off' indeed! Does he suppose poor people are better off who have a good dinner and a bad God than those who have a bad dinner and a good God? ¹

Defeat in argument with her brother-in-law on the difficult subject of the material and intrinsic value of works of art sent her to her writing-desk to frame an appeal for help from Ruskin. He quickly came to her aid with useful advice. He suggested that she counter her brother-in-law's question by asking him to give the business-man's definition of value, to explain how it might be estimated, and how it might be illustrated in terms of the wealth of Liverpool. Blanche, we may imagine, lost no time in seeking out her brother-in-law.

Her gratitude to Ruskin increased with the correspondence and she longed to help him in some dramatic, practical way. Her offer to be his housemaid amused and gratified him, but did not surprise him, for he understood her feelings, and his carefully worded letter of refusal could have caused her no chagrin. On the other hand, some of his letters would seem almost to encourage her to hope that one day he would make use of her services. The following letter appears to indicate that he had some plans for her future :

You shall be as much of a cork-cutter—baker—or housemaid, as ever you like—some day soon—if only you will take care of your health at present, enjoy your Christmas with your riotous brothers and follow out the course of your own thoughts quietly and silently. ²

Naturally Blanche waited for the day and tried in 1874 to bring it nearer by again offering her services, this time to the Guild of St. George. Ruskin sent an emphatic reply from Florence :

I have your nice letter, and really believe that your own feeling is true, and that

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/77 (19.4.75).

² Ibid. 35 (n.d.)

you are ready for any call to good service.—But that call—if *at all* made by *me*—must be publicly in *Fors*—or in open lecturing ; it must never be said that I drove young women to enthusiastic folly—least of all disobedience to their father—in my private relation with them—what help I can give you in your home duties—I give by letter. If ever you take up any other—it must be—in answer only to public appeal.¹

This explanation was one which Ruskin had to give many times to too-enthusiastic young ladies who longed to fight for him, and he was at pains to explain to Blanche his disappointment that she, like so many others, failed to realize that he was seeking supporters to fight for the poor, not for himself.

Although Blanche's interest in the Guild of St. George undoubtedly arose from her interest in Ruskin, she was anxious to be recognized as a responsible member. When she asked to be enrolled as a Companion in April 1873 the Guild numbered only eight members and twelve subscribers. Ruskin, afraid that she might be superstitious about being the thirteenth subscriber, wrote to warn her of her position on his list, but Blanche, whose fears centred solely on the possible publication of her name in the Guild's next financial statement, was not superstitious and accepted her rightful place. He wrote by return to assure her that only her number and the amount of her subscription would appear on his list. He reminded her in a letter that an essential condition of membership of the Guild was implicit obedience to its Master. He likened the work of the Guild to the work of a soldier fighting only for the good of mankind and not for the death of an enemy. The tone of the letter suggests that Blanche was debating points in the proposed constitution of the Guild, for he informed her bluntly that he was the Guild's colonel and that the one demand he had to make of his supporters was complete obedience. Discussion was to be found in *Fors*, but obedience was a fundamental Guild requirement. Several times in his letters to Blanche he expressed his great discontent at the slow response to his public appeals in *Fors* for support for his Guild. In July 1874 he wrote from Perugia gloomily about this undertaking to which in 1871 he had made over a tenth of his wealth ; his consciousness of increasing poverty and misery about him

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/66 (19.2.74).

made him discontented with his original plan to publicize in *Fors* his ideas about his Guild of St. George before taking any decisive step towards its actual formation. He suggested in his letter that he was contemplating the adoption of more sensational measures to meet the dire needs of the time. He blamed himself for his moderation and expressed the belief that more would rally to his cause were he to make heavier demands on them than merely to ask for a tenth of their fortune. This letter delighted Blanche, who longed to make a dramatic stand on behalf of the Guild of St. George, but she received no such call to action. Gradually, by waiting, she came to realize that there would be no specific call to her from the Master of the Guild, but that he would answer, when he could, her appeals for help and advice on her home duties and problems. Indeed he encouraged her to write openly to him, and he assured her that, as his pupil, her letters could be neither too familiar, nor too honest; he was careful to warn her that her honesty would at times incur his wrath as well as his pleasure.

Blanche seemed never to know when she was likely to please or to irritate him; there can be little doubt that each letter she wrote was designed to win a reply. *Fors* provided her with a useful pattern of his interests; from it she knew that he would react to questions about theology, morality, christianity, clergymen or the Guild. In her letters she told him about her parents' attempt to subjugate her spiritually, about her sister's secure religious convictions and her own bewildering doubts, and he, in turn, comforted her by likening the security of her sister's faith to a child's or a Brahmin's, and by helping her to meet attempts at parental spiritual dominion with the forceful sentence:

It is as wrong to allow your father and mother to consume your soul as to eat your body.¹

She asked to be reassured about heaven and death and was tersely informed:

I can't comfort you about death—any more than I could a moth or a lamb. It is none of your business I should say to either.—Enjoy yourselves, and be thankful.²

Her questions on religious matters often won lengthy answers from him. He was anxious that she should not accept the Old

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/127 (n.d.).

² Ibid. 24 (3.9.73).

Testament story of God's anger and the resultant flood, but should realize that the choice of salvation or destruction rested with the individual. He was distressed by her adherence to the Pauline religion¹ and vowed in one letter to wean her from it. Blanche's rejoinder :

I don't intend to give up liking him [St. Paul] whatever you say.²

angered him and brought a three-week lull in the correspondence. In answer to her humble plea for a letter and for information about the virtue of the High Church people, Ruskin, in warmer mood, explained that they were amiable blockheads who failed to recognize where their true service to God lay. He pointed out that, so far as she was concerned, her service to God lay in mild acceptance of irksome domestic duties. He tolerantly agreed that St. Paul was to be one of the saints recognized by the Guild of St. George, but was emphatic that he was not to be the chief one. He tried unsuccessfully to temper her intense dislike of the unctuously self-righteous by explaining that the malady could arise from ignorance or even from self-deception. Sometimes, in bitterness and frustration (and maybe after reading *Fors*), she sent him fierce notes of deep resentment against the self-righteousness of some Liverpool churchgoers of her acquaintance. At an early stage in their friendship, the intensity of her feelings on this subject alarmed Ruskin, who sent her this advice :

You are *very* right in your feeling about Church—but don't let it drive you mad. Think quietly what the real result of it is—to the worldly people who go there. Carlyle says it is the wickedest thing they do. But I do not hold with him, for once. They do not enough understand what they are doing to make it wicked in that supreme degree—and many of them really suppose themselves doing a duty, if not to God to society.³

It may be that Blanche relied too much on the religious question as an answer-evoker in her letters to Ruskin, for an undated letter of the eighties shows that she was still pursuing the theme. In reply he informed her angrily that his religion was no concern of hers and that she had ignored the advice he had given her on her own religious difficulties.

Other questions which she plied him with and which sometimes brought flashes of anger and irritation in reply were those

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/18 (27.7.73). ² Ibid. 20 (28.8.73). ³ Ibid. 17 (25.7.73).

which touched on social, political or economic matters. He never held back his wrath for he believed, as he told her, that if his anger were justified she would profit from it (and she did) and if it were not justified it would do her no harm. She irritated him most when she showed ignorance or misunderstanding of the views he expressed in *Fors*. She never really grasped his educational policy and certainly did not understand from her reading of *Fors* that Ruskin was opposed to the teaching of the three Rs in school. Her ignorance in this field made itself apparent in 1883 when Blanche with her friend and fellow Companion of the Guild, Mrs. Talbot, drew up a plan for the opening of a school. This project had a charitable rather than an educational origin, for it was intended primarily to provide a source of income for the wife and daughter of T. W. Bunney, one of the artists whom Ruskin employed on Guild work. A house was purchased and at first Ruskin was delighted with a paper written by Blanche on the proposed school ; then he learned with horror that she proposed to include in the curriculum reading and arithmetic. Immediately he sent an angry letter to Mrs. Talbot on 7 January 1884 in which he protested in thick, black writing that he had forbidden the teaching of these subjects and added :

—Please don't let her interfere any more, she's incorrigibly stupid in many ways and be quiet till you hear from me again.¹

He was somewhat gentler in his letter to Blanche and contented himself merely with the following postscript as a rebuke :

Here is a little piece of 'amazement' to me, that *you* being one of the earliest Companions should never have read the most important 17th *Fors* and be still in the outside state of wishing children to be taught "the three Rs." ²

Not long afterwards the plan, for some reason not explained in the letters, was abandoned and the house sold. On another occasion Ruskin consulted her about Guild affairs. He was anxious to provide assistance for a crippled, indigent Companion, Miss Elizabeth Bowden, or Lizzie, as he called her, and he set up an informal working committee consisting of Mrs. Talbot and two other Companions to consider her case. They were to

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1161/108 (15.12.76).

² Ibid. 1162/123 (23.12.83).

decide whether or not the financial help given to Lizzie by the Guild should include a sum of money towards the maintenance of a destitute, and, as it proved, delinquent orphan named Harriet, whom Lizzie cared for and tried to educate according to principles set out in *Fors*. After making these arrangements with Mrs. Talbot, he then wrote to Blanche asking her to offer to help Lizzie ; but clearly he regretted his action, for some days later he wrote again to inform her that the matter would be dealt with by three other Companions whom he had personally selected for the task, as he wanted them to know Lizzie and to decide on the wisest course to be adopted for her good. This decision was undoubtedly a great disappointment to Blanche, but she may have found some satisfaction in the knowledge that while the committee was able to give financial assistance to Lizzie, it proved wholly unable to reform the erring Harriet. It would appear that Ruskin was reluctant to allow Blanche to take part in any practical way in Guild affairs.

At the time of spurning Blanche's eager offer to help Lizzie, Ruskin was ill and tired. He obviously hoped that she would turn more to *Fors* and learn gradually to seek advice from his work rather than from himself ; but Blanche preferred consulting Ruskin, even if some of her questions brought only an angry command to re-read, or even to read *Fors*. But if some of her letters angered him, he welcomed others, especially those which usefully illustrated points he sought to make in *Fors*, and he consulted her about publishing extracts from them. At first Ruskin was worried in case this use of her letters might set up an unnatural feeling of restraint and prevent her from writing so freely to him, but eventually he decided that she ought to be delighted to help him in this way. Blanche, however, proved reluctant ; she was not anxious for Ruskin to share parts of her letters with his *Fors* readers, and she was emphatic that nothing should be published without her consent. Ruskin ignored her protests, and in *Fors*, Letter XXXV, he printed an extract from one of her letters and publicly proclaimed his " naughtiness " as he termed it, in not first seeking her permission. This extract, which covered over five pages of print, dealt with the squalor of slum life in industrial cities and the peculiar devastation of the

countryside (probably St. Helens) wrought by the extensive development of chemical industries. In it Blanche, reflecting on the misery of these deprived classes, expressed this naive wish, which in essence echoes Ruskin's own scheme for his Guild of St. George :

I should so much like to drag them all away from this wretched town [Liverpool] to some empty, new, beautiful and large country, and set them all to dig, and plant, and build ; and we could, I am sure, all be pure and honest once more.¹

Other extracts from her letters, which he printed in *Fors*, carried the same message and showed how desperately eager Blanche was to translate incidents of everyday life into palely Ruskinian language. She wrote of ragged town children who gazed with wonder and astonishment at some roses she carried ; she described her horror at the scene in Dolwyddelan where work on a new railway brought havoc to the countryside, and she complained bitterly about the weather, the smoke-laden air and the overcast sky of industrial town and city. It is possible that Blanche was writing with sincerity, but her theme and her very complaints about the weather were familiar *Fors* topics ; either consciously or unconsciously she was again echoing Ruskin and hoping to win his approval. But in her account of the unrewarding life of service given by one of her father's devoted workmen, Blanche showed that at last her own social conscience had been awakened. She regretted that the man's whole life of toil had been spent in such sordid surroundings with never a day's real holiday ; more than that, she regretted that he should have been content to live and die in such surroundings and to expect no more of life. To Ruskin the story was, as he told her, " awful and lovely ",² but to Blanche it represented only a condemnation of Christian society. This anecdote shows, perhaps more clearly than any other, Ruskin's influence on Blanche. He had succeeded, as he hoped, in making her look at the world about her with compassionate eyes, instead of dwelling solely and self-pityingly on her own problems.

From the first, Ruskin set out to help Blanche. He realized that she was too intelligent to be satisfied with an aimless drawing-room existence, and so he concerned himself with her general

¹ *Fors* 3, xxxv. 16.

² Ryl. Eng. MS. 1162/102 (n.d.)

education and her reading interests. He encouraged her to develop out-of-door activities, to continue playing cricket, to garden, and to make an outside, as distinct from a textbook, study of botany. Her interest in the social conditions of the poor caused him to introduce her by letter to Octavia Hill, and he offered to introduce her, also by letter, to a friend who organized a local sketching club. He did not advise a study of art for, as he explained in a letter to her, Liverpool was not conducive to art, but he recommended visits to the museum of birds. Another recommendation he made was the study of history, beginning with the House of Lancaster. For this work he suggested the writing out every morning of a passage of history previously studied. He made clear to her the fact that everything demanding hand and practice was education, and he prescribed singing, piano-playing and embroidery work. Her taste in literature especially interested him: when she confessed that she found Spenser dull, he at once consoled her and advised her to concentrate primarily on the legend of Britomart. She followed his advice and was able to report some weeks later her enjoyment of *The Faerie Queen*. Influenced by *Fors*, she read Carlyle and Maria Edgeworth and won his whole-hearted approval. He was anxious that she should rate Miss Edgeworth correctly and stated in a letter:

all Miss Edgeworth has ever written is eternal and classic literature—Of the Eternal as much as Carlyle—as much as Homer.

Very wrong in somethings—and violent in others. But even more Good. Have you ever read “Helen”? Get it and read it as if it were printed in Gold.

and in a postscript he added:

The older I grow the more I enjoy Miss Edgeworth's child's books. Indeed their chief fault is that one can't understand them till one's 50.¹

It is curious that Ruskin drew such enjoyment from the novels of Maria Edgeworth and the problems that beset her heroines. It may be that in relaxation they became his detective novel, and that he enjoyed poring over the clues set out by Miss Edgeworth that were likely to lead to a greater understanding of the young girl. He certainly believed that Blanche could read her novels with profit. He was anxious that she should be familiar also with the

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/24 (30.9.73).

writings of Marmontel, and he recommended the slow reading of his *Memoirs* to be followed by careful reflection on them. He was chary about suggesting the works of contemporary writers other than Carlyle and Helps for, as he explained to her in a letter, only those two writers gave him pleasure, but he did go so far as to assure her that *Aurora Leigh* was entirely grand and good. On one occasion, probably in 1884, he sent her two books of poetry and asked her to review them for him. He did not name the author, but he showed something of his own feelings of discontent with contemporary writers by the following question which he posed at the end of his letter :

Does he [the poet] want to *do* anything or is it all whine and whimper and memories ?¹

Blanche was delighted one morning to receive a parcel from Ruskin containing a book by Sir Arthur Helps with the instructions to cut and read the book before sending it to him at Brantwood for his Christmas reading. This task gave her infinite pleasure and she quickly wrote asking for more work of this kind. He replied by sending another book, this time solely for her amusement. Immediately her joy vanished with the knowledge that he was thinking in terms of her amusement rather than of his need for her help. She wrote protesting that she did not want to cut the pages of books for amusement but only "if it was a little saving of trouble to him".² Ruskin, who perfectly understood her desire to serve him, sent her another book to read. He hoped that this stirring of her intellectual energy would help her to meet the attacks of depression which frequently assailed her. He encouraged her to tell him about her melancholia and her tears, or, as he called it in one letter, her "pretty crying".³ He was gratified by her confidences which intensified his conviction that he could help her. It is possible that this feeling of his at times served to confuse Blanche emotionally ; from Rome, for example, in the spring of 1874, he wrote forcefully :

How is the battle getting harder every day ? Do you find more foes outside—or

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/133 (n.d.)

² Ibid. 28 (12.11.73).

³ Ibid. 59 (19.5.74).

more difficulties within? My impression is lately that I can't lead you rightly until I make that my chief work in the world.¹

There can be little doubt that Blanche would misinterpret the rather ambiguous phrase about his chief work in the world, and that it would lead her to hope that his interest in her was greater than in fact it was. It is difficult to conjecture how far he was aware of Blanche's growing affection for him. The occasion of his first visit to her, in 1874, must have represented to Blanche almost a justification for her very existence. There were, of course, many plans and false alarms before they actually met. Ruskin was eager that the meeting should take place at her aunt's school in the village of Farnworth, six miles outside Warrington, where Blanche, following his advice, was recuperating after a quite serious illness. In preparation for the meeting Blanche had studied Ruskin's photograph and so, as he jocularly wrote, had seen the worst; she had also answered his careful questions about her appearance. As the time of the visit approached she grew fearful lest he should lose interest in her after the meeting, but Ruskin wrote to comfort her:

No—I won't patronise you—and we shall write just as we do now—I shall at least—you, I hope more comfortably.²

And then on 20 February 1874, she received his letter from Oxford telling her that he intended to pass through Warrington the following day on his way to Brantwood, and that he hoped to visit her that evening. The letter did not give her final assurance that the visit would take place, for Ruskin could not be sure of his plans until he had received his morning's post, but he arranged to send a message by telegraph if, by unhappy chance, circumstances should prevent his coming. Accordingly the arrangement was made that if by 11 a.m. she had not received his telegram she would know to expect him later that day. Blanche wrote an account of this visit many years later on the occasion of Ruskin's eighty-first birthday, and in it she recaptured some of her feelings on that very special day for her:

. . . at last the day came, the evening came, and he drove up to the door. It was growing dark, but there was a bright fire burning; and as the slight, stooping figure came towards me with both hands out, and my first glance rested on the

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/58 (7.5.74).

² Ibid. 45 (15.2.74).

curious eager face, with large mouth and bushy eyebrows, my heart sank. For the first moment I was startled. Could this be my hero? "Is it really you?" I said with a little gasp. "Yes, it's myself entirely" was the answer with an amused laugh. Then when he had talked and talked—when I had seen the flash of those deep-set steel-blue eyes, which seemed to look through and through me, and the radiance of the smile, and the ever-changing play of expression, I thought his face fascinating in its strange power and charm. Somehow, I had expected quick, decisive speech quick, impatient movements. Instead, the words came slowly and deliberately; the movements were slow and quiet. "I am not a good talker", he said. But no one else would say so who had ever listened to him. He would tell an anecdote of some difficulty he had got into, and laugh at himself, in an almost boyish manner—or at me, as the case might be. Once, I remember, I explained that I had never been abroad, and wanted to travel. "It would spoil you, if you did", he said gently. "Then I would like to be spoiled", said I; and he answered, "Yes, I knew you would say so" with that merry smile which was so delightful.¹

Ruskin, for his part, made these comments to Blanche on his visit in a letter she received the next day:

The great thing I found out was the really oppressive nature of your life and your aunts—in its—I grieve to admit—little usefulness in comparison of its devotion and strength. I thought your Aunt was very poor, keeping a village school: these finishing schools are much sadder work to my mind. I could not examine you thoroughly without frightening you too much and making you upset tea cups. I have scarcely any idea of you. I scarcely once fairly caught your eyes—and was besides myself, half in a dream all the time, and the more so because I was considering whether to tell you what it was about—and which I did not till just the end, you know.

—Well, we must each of us help the other, as much as we can—for truly my notion is that we both need it.²

Poor Blanche, it was unfortunate that she had a cold to wrestle with as well as her nerves, and obviously she did not draw much support from her Evangelical aunt, since she was unable to disguise the fact from either her niece or her distinguished visitor that she had a headache. It must be recollected that Ruskin suffered a great disappointment on arrival when he learned that the school to which he had sent Blanche to recuperate was an artificial finishing school and not—as he imagined—a tiny, rural Dame's school such as he knew in Coniston and described in *Christ's Folk in the Appenine*.³ It is evident from this and subsequent letters which he wrote to Blanche that the meeting

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1164/40, 48.

² Ibid. 1162/47 (22.2.74).

³ See *Christ's Folk in the Appenine* by Francesca Alexander, edited by John Ruskin, D.C.L. (George Allen, 1887), 128.

developed in him a therapeutic interest in her. He saw her as a lonely, unhappy young woman in need of comfort and help. He accepted her loneliness as inevitable ; indeed he tried to make her accept it as part of God's will and His special plan for her. After meeting her he realized more clearly than ever that she could draw no consolation from her home, family and relations, nor the town she lived in. He sensed her pent-up energy and devotion ready to be directed to any cause he recommended. He was afraid to press the needs of his Guild of St. George for fear that her enthusiasm would lead to folly and so instead, whenever possible, he gave her part-secretarial work to do for him. He enclosed with his first letter after his visit a bundle of unpublished manuscripts with instructions which greatly delighted her : she was to read them carefully, select any that she considered worthy of publication, copy them out neatly and forward the copies to him. After careful study of the manuscripts, Blanche selected an essay from them for publication. She copied it out very neatly as he requested, posted it to him at his Coniston address and was thankful to learn some days later that he valued her work and her judgement, and that he planned to use the material she had selected in one of his Oxford lectures. For reward she was allowed to keep the manuscripts which she read again and again with intense pleasure and excitement. She found the task of helping to make an index for two volumes of *Fors* letters less satisfying because she was required to work from printed pages and not from his own handwriting. She wrote to Ruskin to explain that the work would be " so different if it were in your own writing ",¹ but Ruskin, writing somewhat coldly from Herne Hill, refused to understand and merely quoted her phrase in a postscript and asked her to explain its meaning.

Ruskin requested Blanche to make this index early in January 1875. By his precise instruction she was required to index all the placenames mentioned. It was a lengthy piece of work which demanded serious concentration and it was not completed until May, when it was dispatched to Ruskin who reported its safe arrival. While he agreed that the index was, on first sight, good, he made somewhat grudging comment on it and added that he

¹ Ryl. Eng. MS. 1162/78 (30.4.75).

would enrich it before sending it to his printer. Nevertheless, he invited her, many years later, to help him with the index of the last volumes of *Fors*. The impersonal nature of this work gave her little satisfaction ; the filing or, to use Ruskin's term, the registration of certain of his letters came nearer to the kind of work she enjoyed and she helped him in this way for many years. Ruskin gave her the most detailed instructions about the method to be adopted : boxed shelves were to be set up in her room if she had no other suitable accommodation for the letters ; each letter was to be put into a strong envelope on which was to be clearly written the name of the sender, the subject of the letter and the date. Sometimes he required her to copy out in a book of ruled quarto paper certain passages from the letters, some were to be copied out and the originals burned, and some letters that he especially valued were simply entrusted to her care with the request that copies be made for his use. Although Blanche was delighted at the prospect of such work, she was also nervous in case she mislaid or lost any of these letters. Her mother had similar fears and felt that he was placing a " dreadful responsibility " on her daughter, but Ruskin merely laughed at the excitement his suggestion had caused and assured the family that without Blanche's help the letters would be burned, not filed. The fact that she knew nothing of the people who wrote the letters and so might file them wrongly also worried her, but again Ruskin swept aside her fears.

As years advanced and the burden of his daily post became excessive, he was greatly relieved to have her help in this matter. He enjoyed sharing some letters with her ; as late as 1884 he sent two letters to her which he had received from the Hon. Mrs. Cowper Temple and her husband. The reason why he wanted Blanche to see Mrs. Cowper Temple's letter was probably because it referred to an unhappy young girl whom Ruskin described as another faithful disciple. In his letter he indicated his intention to send her the entire collection of Dr. Dawtrey Drewitt's letters to be copied out and returned. These letters evidently gave him great pleasure and when, some weeks later, he sent the collection to Blanche, he instructed her to number them carefully and to make an alphabetical list of the animals mentioned therein.

Ruskin found satisfaction in setting these tasks for Blanche ; he believed that he was thus training her in orderly habits. But Blanche liked better the following reason he gave in an earlier letter for choosing her to help him with this work :

It's just a thing that I can't let anybody do but a girl whom I can trust ; and though I can trust several that I know—they're none of them quite strong enough for the severe work of reading the things to see where they go.¹

She always liked to feel that he had greater regard for her than for any other young lady of his acquaintance ; indeed she confessed to feelings of jealousy only to receive this mild protest :

But my dear child—how can I sometimes help making friends of girls, as well as boys—How can I help knowing that I could make one or two happy, if I chose, when I see that they are happy when they are with me ? I needn't have *said* so to you—it would have looked less conceited—but I am simply frank with you.

What would you like me to do—to think—to say ?²

Quite clearly what she wanted him to do was to name her as the favourite of them all, but constantly he gave her indication of the true situation. In one of his early letters he wrote :

Put it out of your head that I don't know girls—I've studied them far more than anything else—to my bitter sorrow.³

Some weeks later he reminded her :

my only comfort in life is flirting, and my chief vexation now that I'm getting so old.⁴

Of the many adoring young ladies who were excited and delighted to receive his letters, flirtatious or educational (and Ruskin ever inclined to link the two in his programme designed for female education), Blanche was probably the one who had most need of his help. At first Ruskin was amused and gratified by her dependence on him, but in the summer of 1874, writing from Perugia, he showed some concern at the intensity of her feelings :

I have your sorrowful letter and scarcely know whether to be glad or sorry, that my little bits of answers are of so much value to you. I am very glad for my own sake that they are, for one likes to be cared for—but I wish you could get into the conviction of the real truth that your letters are of value and great interest to me, whether I answer or not ; and go on talking as a daughter would to her father if she

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/35. (n.d.)

² Ibid. 83 (n.d.)

³ Ibid. 24 (30.9.73).

⁴ Ibid. 29 (n.d.)

knew he were listening—though he made no reply for a while, with pleasure to herself also.¹

In the summer of the following year, in July 1875, Ruskin met Blanche for a second time. On this occasion, as on the last, Blanche was unwell; indeed she was recuperating in the Lake District and she wrote to Ruskin to invite him to visit her and to meet Annie Cross, the friend with whom she was staying. Ruskin was delighted to learn that she was in the neighbourhood and after making several plans that had to be cancelled because of unexpected visitors at Brantwood, he at last reached Skelwith and had tea with Blanche and her friend. Towards the end of August he invited them to spend a day with him and he arranged for them to stay the night at Brantwood. This arrangement was not easily made, for again he was beset by visitors, but at length the visit took place. As on their first meeting, Ruskin was worried about Blanche's health; this time he was concerned about her high colour, her obvious weariness and her depression. He sent her three books to help to change her attitude of mind and was relieved to learn that the local doctor had reported satisfactorily on her general condition and insisted merely on a further period of rest. Blanche was apologetic about the fatigue that left her so dull at the tea-party and Ruskin, to comfort her, wrote:

I am sure that when you are well again, you will be a diamond of your own Blanche brightness, and that the dimness was merely because you were tired and ill.²

When she did not reply to this compliment he grew worried, and a few days later he wrote again to ask her to write to him and to send a message to her friend Annie. That message must have depressed Blanche infinitely for it made abundantly clear the fact that while at the tea-party Ruskin was conscious of her ill-health, he was, at the same time, obviously full of admiration for her friend Annie—her appearance, her powers of conversation no less than of silence, and her grace and lightness of movement. From Blanche's point of view the second meeting with Ruskin was apparently no more successful than the first. In a letter to her many years later he made this comment on it:

You will never be satisfied with anything I write; for I talked to you two hours in

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/62 (22.7.74).

² Ibid. 92 (19.8.75).

Langdale and found I might just as well have talked to one of the fern leaves at the door. You were just the same at the end as at the beginning.

You can only find out things I believe in your own way—and must be left to do so—whatever questions you want answered, which 50 volumes would not answer.¹

It may be that their next and last meeting referred to in these letters was a happier occasion; the correspondence shows that Ruskin planned a hasty visit to Liverpool on his way to Coniston from Oxford, probably in 1884. He wrote with enthusiasm of his plan:

I mean to come and see you on my way to Coniston—about a fortnight from this time—but I can only get a glimpse—for I am prepared to go North now—only I must see you for an hour—Is there anything likely to take you away from home—because I hate being disappointed or I wouldn't have told you and come by surprise.²

In his second letter about this proposed visit he wrote asking Blanche to find an inn close to her home in Edge Lane and to ask her father and brothers to make no reference in the city to his intended visit, for he did not want to be delayed by other friends in Liverpool at that time. She must have found some satisfaction in the knowledge that his sole purpose in visiting Liverpool was to spend the afternoon with her and not with any other of his friends. Unfortunately there is no letter to show whether or not his visit took place.

These meetings with Blanche intensified Ruskin's awareness of what he termed her morbid sensibility. Some months after their first meeting he wrote:

Before going to my work this morning I must ask you how you ever came to write such a worse than naughty sentence as this 'Whether I waste time or not whether my character improves or degrades is of no importance except to myself and—well I don't know if it matters much even to myself.'

This is so wrong—so morbid and so unlike you that I feel greatly shocked and alarmed at it. It means that your surroundings are oppressing your mind as bad air the body.

The best thing for you to do will be to receive them as a form of persecution to be cheerfully borne for God's sake—and to begin a thorough test of the truth of Christianity in the main, by praying steadily and with assurance for relief from them. Write me a line in answer to *poste restante* Lucca.³

He confessed his anxiety about her to Mrs. Talbot in 1877:

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/139 (n.d.) ² Ibid. 130 (n.d.) ³ Ibid. 68 (12.9.74).

Blanche is very ill herself without knowing it, poor thing, and her whole mind is warped from what it was.¹

Usually when she was ill he wrote quietly sympathetic letters encouraging her to lay aside her anxieties and concentrate solely on getting well again so that she would be able to support him in his work for the Guild. But her confession during an illness in the autumn of 1875 that she enjoyed reading J. S. Mill brought a series of cold notes from Ruskin and this statement which greatly alarmed her :

I simply feel more and more that I can do you no good and am wasting my time on you.²

Blanche sent an anguished appeal and received the following cold, rather cruel reply :

Cowley Rectory
27 October 75.

My dearest Blanche,

I am deeply grieved to have received your letter too late to reply at once (it has had traverses to make) and now to find so sorrowful words in it—and the more because I can't do away with your misunderstanding of me—I never have been otherwise than your friend for one moment—and the things, which made me angry were in no wise the cause of my change in manner of writing, but simply the feeling that I could be of no use. That feeling I have still.—All that I could say or do, would not convince you of the difference between anger or displeasure—and ceasing to speak when I find my sayings unserviceable. Do not agitate your mind about such things. If your illness increases, you will soon have new friends better than the old ones,—if it diminishes—be sure you may have the old ones when ever they are likely to be of use to you and that I am

Ever affectionately Yours
J. Ruskin³

But when, in less irritated mood, he reflected on his possible influence on Blanche, Ruskin realized that he was virtually a liberalizing force in her life and that he had given her a new confidence in herself. There can be little doubt that the controlling aim in his relationship with her was his desire to help her to adjust herself happily to the world about her. It may be that the price she had to pay for this adjustment was emotionally high—she always hoped for more affection than she received—but she gained from the friendship new interests in life, in people

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1161/42 (18.2.77).

² Ibid. 1162/95 (n.d.)

³ Ibid. 96 (27.10.75).

and in writing. Ruskin's publication of extracts from her letters inspired her to greater literary effort. As early in their friendship as 1874 she sought his advice on the matter and was delighted to receive a letter of approval and encouragement from him. In 1883 he again wrote to encourage her, this time to comment favourably on an article she had written for mill-workers. Towards the end of the year he made further reference to her literary powers and criticized a certain hardness in her work ; he suggested that she should send him a short story on a pleasant subject so that he could properly assess her ability. No letter exists to show if the story were in fact written, but publishers' records prove that in 1891 a novel by Blanche Atkinson entitled *They have their Reward* was published by George Allen, Ruskin's own publisher. Four years later another novel by Blanche Atkinson entitled *A common place Girl* was published by A. & C. Black, and at the beginning of this century some of her stories for children were also published.

Blanche, therefore, drew much from the friendship. True, she was in love with Ruskin, but many young ladies who received his letters seem to have been in a similar state. They realized that they could draw heavily on his attention and interest ; they knew that he looked for long, friendly letters from them. In a letter to one of his younger friends, a schoolgirl, he wrote :

*You ought to have no end of things to tell me what you've been learning and what you've been repeating or what dresses you've been wearing—what wreaths you've been gathering.*¹

Such letters provided him with amusement and, in an ephemeral way, interest ; they could make him feel useful, gay, even young, but few of the young ladies with whom he corresponded could really help him. Blanche proved an exception ; he regarded her, as he told her, as a " true and inalienable friend ".² At times he was able to ease his wearied mind and spirit by sending her sad accounts of his tragic love for Rosie La Touche. His letters give a vivid picture of the familiar, pathetic story. He was anxious that Blanche should realize that he never encouraged the young Rosie to disobey her parents until they had already taken the fatal

¹ Guild of St. George : Ruskin Collection (2.12.81).

² Ryl. Eng. MS. 1162/97.

step of lying to her and making her believe evil of him and so, as he argued, fatally disturbing her brain. He told of the message he had received in Venice when she had broken away from her parents and was eager to make her peace with him, and he described the joy when they were together again, that so soon turned to grief :

[Rosie] gave me one day of perfect happiness—and then left me—not *now* leaving me but in a sad spiritual way—as a vowed nun might—shrinking *madly*—I speak literally—from any other love but her love of God.¹

Blanche evidently wanted to know more of his day of perfect happiness for he continued :

The perfect day was when I had perfect assurance in my own mind she was going to take me—and she herself was quite happy in park with me on a radiant day in August—and playing to me in the drawing room—and the other people in the house keeping out of our way.²

He wrote freely to Blanche about his feelings of anguish and about Rosie's merciless cruelty in her madness, which was, he believed, indirectly an outcome of her religious fervour that believed in the purifying powers of pain. In this same letter he made a rare comment on his marriage—obviously in answer to a discreet reference made by Blanche :

Of the other matters which you are not going to ask about—it is indeed only necessary for you to know that it was only a sorrowful and hateful passage of life—not in the least a permanent mischief (except in collateral power over this last). No man of real worth can love what is unworthy, enough to be ruined, or even permanently hurt by discovering that it is so. —But when the great and right love of what is wholly worthy of love is changed into grief—there is an end.³

He wanted Blanche to realize that since 1858 pain was the constant accompaniment of his life and work ; that the only reward for his toil that he sought was Rosie's caress, which she never gave, though sometimes she praised him. He was able in his letters at times to report that she was making satisfactory progress, but he was never able to report that her attitude towards him had changed. As might be expected, Blanche protested strongly at Rosie's treatment of him and vowed never to forgive her, but Ruskin bore no such resentment for, as he explained to Blanche, his chance of happiness with Rosie had been destroyed by her

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/34 (n.d.)

² *Ibid.* 36 (n.d.)

³ *Ibid.*

intense belief in a future life. And when Blanche still blamed her he tried in simple language to account for his need of her : Crossing the hills, yesterday, I found myself about 1 o'clock in want of a sandwich. I happened to have one in my pocket—ate it and got on—if I hadn't had it, I couldn't have got on—it would have been no use for any pious person to tell me I was making a God of my sandwich—and that God would be jealous of its importance on my mind.

I simply needed my mutton and mustard—or I couldn't have done my work.—I only look upon Rosie as a sandwich—but I can't get on without her. She is not the moon, nor is she an idol—but an amusing child—with grey eyes which happens to be precisely the thing that I can't do without—I *do* after a fashion but badly.¹

A month later, in April 1874, he happily reported to Blanche that Rosie had sent a note to his cousin, Joan Severn, in which she prayed for the safety of all travellers. Ruskin took this prayer as evidence that she was thinking of him, for he was setting off on a journey at the time the note was written and it was her custom never to refer directly to him by name. He described the excessive strain of the previous winter, when he took time from his work at Oxford to visit Rosie's sick-room, and he wrote with evident pride of the occasion when her distracted parents called on him for help in the hope that he would be able to quieten her. In January 1875 he could report only that Rosie was insane and slowly wasting away ; she no longer submitted to the ministrations of others and even in the matter of diet would have only her own way and lived mostly on soda-water and plum cake. In May 1875 he learned of her death and at once wrote to Blanche. His letter expressed no overwhelming grief, but rather amazement that it was possible for him to be reading tranquilly at 7 a.m., the time of her death, and be unaware of it. As a postscript he added pathetically that, of course, she left no message.

It is significant that Ruskin immediately wrote to Blanche on learning of Rosie's death. He had come to rely on her and to need her sympathy. He felt that Blanche deserved such confidence because of her intense faith in him, but possibly he gave her the real reason when he wrote :

And the intense relief it is to me, to speak a little to anyone who *can* be rightly sorry for me.²

Undoubtedly she was rightly sorry for him. He clearly believed

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/53 (9.3.74).

² Ibid. 34 (n.d.)

that she would understand that Rose La Touche could never be replaced in his affections. He accepted Blanche's unhappiness as he accepted his own. It may well be that his own experience of misery helped him to gauge correctly her unhappiness, even if he did not diagnose its cause. Their friendship was cemented by a mutual need and by her misery, no less than by her powers to irritate him. As late as 1884 he sent her the following letter with the familiar scolding note in it :

I don't know if you have the least idea of it—but the fact is that on every occasion on which we have *differed* in opinion you have *always* thought yourself wiser than I am. It is not merely about your own business—but in the most naive way, you have over and over again given me advice about my own books—and coolly told me what to write and what not. You are without exception the proudest and sauciest girl I ever knew—but also one of the best.

Now, whether you believe it or not—this is the fact—that you know hardly more about your own duties than about my books.¹

Later still he vigorously complained :

You are tiresome with these barometrical variations—one day insisting on my being a hero—and the next, hoping I mayn't turn out a rogue.²

The last letter of all in this collection in the Rylands Library indicates that Blanche was still looking for his letters, still terrified of being cast aside. This short note of comfort which he wrote must have made clear even to the persistent, unhappy, hopeful Blanche that all was over now and that she must look to *Fors Clavigera* and not to John Ruskin for strength and interest in life :

Boulogne
25th Aug.

My dearest Blanche

I have not given you up a bit but I simply cannot write private letters at present, nor read them—the diabolic horrors of public life increase so fast—in accelerating pace that I must fight with my whole strength and indulge neither myself nor my friends with private talk. Read *Fors* carefully & do all you can understand. What you can't never mind.

Ever affly. as ever
J. Ruskin

I like your last note v. much, and am thankful you are better.³

Atropos or—as Ruskin preferred—the Third *Fors*⁴ ruled that she should return to obscurity and to *Fors Clavigera*, the source of their friendship.

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/127 (n.d.) ² Ibid. 138 (n.d.) ³ Ibid. 140.

⁴ See *Fors* 5, lix. 304.

COPTIC BIBLICAL TEXTS PUBLISHED AFTER VASCHALDE'S LISTS

BY WALTER C. TILL, DR. PHIL.

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THE Faculty of Theology of Manchester University had hoped to issue a memorial volume in honour of the late Professor T. W. Manson, its Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis. The volume was intended to contain contributions from the members of the Faculty. This unfortunately proved impracticable. Hence I am specially grateful to Professor E. Robertson, the editor of the *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, for accepting the following article as a small tribute to Professor Manson from one who owed him much.

Professor Manson's interests and range of knowledge were wide and they included Coptic. He realized the importance of the Coptic versions of the Bible for its textual criticism and he himself was a competent Coptic scholar. It was largely owing to his initiative that the University of Manchester established a Senior Lectureship in Coptic of which I had the honour to be the first holder. I should like here to express my appreciation of the kindness and help I always received from him.

The Coptic versions of the Bible are for the most part preserved only in fragments which are scattered in collections all over the world; they have been published in many books and articles. A. Vaschalde performed the useful task of compiling lists of all published Coptic Biblical texts in such a way that anyone could easily find any particular Biblical passage in the printed editions. His lists were published under the title of "*Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible*" in *Revue Biblique* (Paris, 1919-22) for the Sahidic versions, in *Le Muséon* 43 (Louvain, 1930) and 45 (1932) for the Bohairic texts, and *ibid.* 46 (1933) for Fayyumic and Achmimic.

However, since Vaschalde's lists appeared many more parts

of the Coptic Bible have been edited and I thought it would be a good thing to compile a supplementary list, one dealing with those editions of Coptic Biblical texts that have appeared since his lists were made or are not mentioned there. This should be useful to all who are interested in the Coptic versions of the Bible and seems an appropriate tribute to one who himself did so much for such studies.

It is unnecessary to explain here why, in compiling the list, I do not follow Vaschalde's system in all details.

I cannot hope to have covered all publications but I hope I have not missed many. I regret very much that I cannot cover the many quotations from the Bible that are found in Coptic literature. Nor did Vaschalde pretend to cover all these but only those noted by the editors of the various texts which contained them. Much remains still to be done in this field.

Only printed editions are mentioned in the following list. I omit all texts published only on plates, and all unpublished texts. But I mention editions of which I hope that they will soon be issued.

I owe much valuable information to the Reverend R. Kasser (Combas, France), Professor J. Simon, S. I. (Rome), and Dr. R. McL. Wilson (St. Andrews) and I offer them my best thanks for their very kind and much appreciated help.

Abbreviations used in the following list. The number after the abbreviation indicates, unless otherwise denoted, the page on which the passage referred to is found.

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 42, 14-16. 20-22. 36-38 Lefort, MS. Louv. 30 f.
 42, 20-23. 32-35 Till, S AT 177-9
 42, 34-43, 23 Till, Perg. theol. 1-4
 43, 2-5. 17-19. 22-25 Lefort, MS. Louv. 31 f.
 44, 2-4. 7-10. 22-25. 27-30 Lefort, MS. Louv. 32 f.
 45, 8. 9. 12-14. 28 Lefort, MS. Louv. 33 f.
 45, 9. 19. 20 Till, S AT 179
 46, 1. 2. 5-7. 20-22. 27-29 Lefort, MS. Louv. 34 f.
 47, 5-7. 11. 12. 22-24. 26-28 Lefort, MS. Louv. 35 f.
 48, 10-12. 15. 16 Lefort, MS. Louv. 36
 49, 6-9. 11-14. 30. 31 Lefort, MS. Louv. 37
 50, 3. 4. 17. 18. 22-24 Lefort, MS. Louv. 37 f.
 50, 9-15 Shier, S OT 42 f.

Exodus

- 1, 1-6. 19-22 Lefort, MS. Louv. 38
 2, 5. 6. 18. 19. 23. 24 Lefort, MS. Louv. 39
 3, 12. 13. 15. 16 Lefort, MS. Louv. 40
 4, 6. 10. 23-25. 29. 30 Lefort, MS. Louv. 40
 5, 12. 13. 17. 18 Lefort, MS. Louv. 41
 23, 15. 20 Till, S AT 180

Leviticus

- 21, 17-24 ¹ Lefort, MS. Louv. 43
 22, 1-8¹ Lefort, MS. Louv. 44
 25, 47. 53-55 Till, S AT 180 f.

¹ Published first by E. Amélineau in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, 8 (1886). It was never in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris as Vaschalde supposed.

Numbers

- 4, 48-5, 13 Till, Perg. theol. 4-6
 6, 25-27 Stefanski-Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu. The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications*, 71 (Chicago, 1952), no. 1.
 13, 24-26 Till, S AT 181 f.
 14, 9. 10 Till, S AT 182
 19, 12. 14. 15 Till, S AT 183
 22, 38-41 Till, S AT 184
 23, 3. 4 Till, S AT 184

Deuteronomy

- 7, 26-8, 8 Lefort, MS. Louv. 46
 8, 1-8 Kahle, Bal 299 f.
 9, 24-10, 4 Lefort, MS. Louv. 47 f.
 10, 11-11, 2 Till, Perg. theol. 6 (collation)
 16, 19-22 Till, S AT 185
 17, 1-3. 5. 6. Till, S AT 186
 32, 2-39. 43 Till-Sanz, Od 51-67

Joshua

- 1, 2-6 Till, Perg. theol. 12 f.

Judges

- 16, 17. 18. 20. 21 Till, S AT 187
 20, 4-15 Till, S AT 188-90

Ruth

- 1, 1-4, 22 Shier, S OT 44-68
 3, 14-4, 3 Till, S AT 190-2

I Samuel

J. Drescher is preparing the edition of the complete text of I and II Samuel from a manuscript of the Pierpont Morgan collection. I understand that the Société d'Archéologie copte in Cairo intends to publish this edition.

2, 1. 3. 4. 8-10 Till-Sanz, Od 67-9

2, 24-30 Kahle, Bal 302 f.

3, 6-9 Kahle, Bal 304

6, 14-21 Kahle, Bal 304-7

14, 3. 5. 7. 10. 11 Kahle, Bal 307

14, 47. 49-15, 2 Lefort, MS. Louv. 50

15, 13. 15. 17. 19. 20 Kahle, Bal 308

15, 21-24. 26. 29. 30 Lefort, MS. Louv. 51 f.

17, 11-13. 40-42. 48-51. 54 } L. Dieu, "Le texte copte sahidique des livres
18, 6-17. 21. 22. 28. 29 } de Samuel", *Le Muséon*, 59 (Louvain, 1946,
19, 1 } Mélanges L. Th. Lefort), 446-447.

19, 3-9 Till, Perg. theol. 14 f.

21, 13-22, 6 Kahle, Bal 309 f.

24, 12. 15. 17-20 Kahle, Bal 311

29, 3-9 Kahle, Bal 312-14

II Samuel

11, 1-5. 8-10. 12. 13. 15-20 Till, S AT 192-4

13, 28-34. 36-14, 6 Till, S AT 195-7

I Kings

1, 51-2, 5 Kahle, Bal 315 f.

2, 1-4 Kahle, Bal 317

17, 5. 6. 12 Till, S AT 197

20, 4, Kahle, Bal 317

21, 16-18. 21. 23-26. 30. 31 Till, S AT 198-200

22, 39-54 Kahle, Bal 318-21

II Kings

2, 6 Till, Kl B Frg. 245

14, 17-22. 24. 25. 27-29 Kahle, Bal 322-4

17, 13-23 Kahle, Bal 324-6

II Chronicles

5, 14 Till, Perg. theol. 13

6, 3-8 Till, Perg. theol. 13 f.

34, 29-31 Till, Perg. theol. 15

Psalms

1, 1 Crum, ST no. 2

1, 1. 2 Crum, ST no. 3

4, 8. 9; 5 title Crum, ST no. 4

5, 13-6, 3 Till, SAT 201

- 6, 9-11 Till, S AT 201
 8, 2-9, 2 Till, S AT 210 f.
 16, 1-6 Lefort, MS. Louv. 54
 17, 20-26 Lefort, MS. Louv. 54
 17, 40-45 Lefort, MS. Louv. 55
 18, 5-10 Lefort, MS. Louv. 55
 18, 8 (?) Crum, ST no. 10
 18, 36-41 Till, S AT 203 f.
 21, 25-27 Crum, ST no. 5
 22, 15-17 Till, S AT 204
 22, 24. 25 Till, S AT 205
 26, 12-14 } P. W. Ernštedt (= Peter Jernstedt), *Koptské teksty Gosudar-*
 27, 1-9 } *stwennovo Ermitaža. Akademiya Nauk SSSR (Moscow-Lenin-*
 28, 1 (title) } *grad, 1959), 132-134.*
 30, 1-6 A. Wikgren, "Two ostraca fragments of the Septuagint Psalter", *Journal*
of Near Eastern Studies, 5 (Chicago, 1945), 183
 32, 8. 9. Crum, ST no. 6
 40, 13 Crum, ST no. 7
 41 title Crum, ST no. 7
 43, 25-44, 8 Worrell, Freer 107 f.
 46, 1-7 Worrell, Freer 108 f.
 59, 8-60, 1 Till, Bibl. JRL. 433 f.
 60, 16-24 Till, Bibl. JRL. 434 f.
 62, 8-63, 11 Till, S AT 202 f.
 63, 7. 8 Till, S AT 205
 64, 2. 3 Till, S AT 205 f.
 67, 2 Wessely, Stud. 12, No. 166
 70, 16-24 Till, Bibl. JRL. 434 f.
 71, 1-11 Till, Bibl. JRL. 435 f.
 76, 6-9 Till, S AT 206
 77, 8-10 Till, S AT 206
 77, 65-69 Wessely, Stud. 18, p. 17
 80, 3 Till, Kl B Frg. 247
 87, 5-12 Kahle, Bal 328
 87, 16-88, 4 Kahle, Bal 328 f.
 94, 22-95, 1 Till, S AT 212
 103, 14-20 Till, S AT 207
 104, 10-15 Till, S AT 207 f.
 106, 34-36. 45. 46 Till, S AT 208
 110, 9. 10 Kahle, Bal 329 f.
 111, 6. 7 Kahle, Bal 330
 118, 10. 11 H. Kortenbeutel-A. Böhlig, "Ostrakon mit griechisch-koptischem
 Psalmtext", *Aegyptus*, 15 (Milan, 1935), 415
 118, 149-152. 158-160. 171. 172 Lefort, MS. Louv. 56-8
 135, 20-136, 2 Till, S AT 209
 136, 14-16 Till, S AT 209
 139, 1-5 Lefort, MS. Louv. 58
 147, 6-148, 4 Kahle, Bal 330 f.

Proverbs

The complete text has been edited by G. P. G. Sobhy, *The book of the Proverbs of Solomon in the dialect of Upper Egypt* (Cairo, 1927). The same text has been edited in a scientific edition with critical notes by William H. Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago manuscript. The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications*, 12 (Chicago, 1931).

R. Kasser has edited a text of the Proverbs of considerable interest. Not only is the dialect peculiar but the script also shows archaic features which this manuscript does not share with any other Coptic manuscript known as far. It looks rather like "Old Coptic". *Papyrus Bodmer VI* (Proverbs I 1-XXI 4). *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scriptores coptici*. The Sahidic text (influenced by Achmimic) comprises: Proverbs 1, 1-2, 9; 2, 20-15, 23; 15, 29-18, 1; 18, 9-20, 9; 20, 25-21, 4.

14, 29-32 Till, Kl B Frg. 246

15, 1-4 Till, Kl B Frg. 246 f.

27, 9-22 Till, S AT 213 f.

29, 28-32. 39-41. 48. 49 Munier, MLC 226

Ecclesiastes

1, 1-12, 14 Shier, S OT 68-125

1, 7-16 Till, Bibl. JRL. 436-438

7, 1-3. 8-12. 16-19. 26. 27 Lefort, MS. Louv. 60-2

8, 9-9, 2 Till, Perg. theol. 11 f. (collation)

The Song of Songs

1, 1-8, 14 Shier, S OT 125-55

Job

The complete Sahidic text, with the exception of 39, 8-40, 8, has been edited by E. Amélineau, "The Sahidic translation of the book of Job", in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 9 (1893).

15, 25-28. 34-16, 1 Till, S AT 215

24, 19-25, 3 Worrell, Freer 110 f.

27, 10-19 Worrell, Freer 111 f.

31, 11-13. 15. 16 Kahle, Bal 403; cf. Polotsky in *Orientalia*, NS 26 (1957), 347.

Wisdom of Solomon

11, 4-10. 12-15 E. M. Husselman, "A palimpsest fragment from Egypt", *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, 2 (Milan, 1957), 458f.

Jesus ben Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)

1, 5-13. 16-20 Till, Bibl. JRL. 439 f.

18, 18-20. 29-31 Till, Bibl. JRL. 441

23, 19. 20. 28-30 Till, Bibl. JRL. 441 f.

45, 9. 10. 13-15 Till, S AT 216

Tobias

- 1, 7-20 L. Saint-Paul Girard, "Un fragment inédit du Livre de Tobie", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, 22 (1923), 116 f.

Hosea

- 2, 9-5, 1 W. Grossouw, "Un fragment sahidique d'Osée", *Le Muséon*, 47 (Louvain, 1934), 190-201.

Micah

- 4, 8-5, 5 Till, Perg. theol. 8-10

Obadiah

- 5-17 Till, Perg. theol. 10 f.

Jonah

- 2, 3-10 Till-Sanz, Od 71-5

Habakkuk

- 1, 1-3. 5-11. 13. 14 Till, S AT 217-19
2, 5 Till, S AT 218 f.

Ishaia

- 1, 3. 4. 6. 7. 9 Lefort, MS. Louv. 67 f.
7, 10-16 Lefort, MS. Louv. 68
14, 22-25. 27-29 Till, S AT 219 f.
14, 31-15, 8 Till, S AT 220-2
16, 2-10 Till, S AT 221-3
25, 1-7. 10 Till-Sanz, Od 75-79
26, 1-4. 11-20 Till-Sanz, Od 79-85
38, 9-15. 18-20 Till-Sanz, Od 85-9
52, 14-53, 4 Kahle, Bal 332 f.

Jeremiah

- 4, 22-5, 10 Shier, S OT 156-60
18, 18-19, 6 Till, S AT 224 f.
32, 22-37 Till, Perg. theol. 7 f.
39, 2-6 Till, S AT 226
51, 25-52, 1 Shier, S OT 160-4
52, 3-7. 31-34 Shier, S OT 164-6

Lamentations

- 1, 20-2, 1 Till, Perg. theol. 12
2, 21-3, 1 Till, Bibl. JRL. 442-4
2, 19-3, 4. 6-18 Donadoni, S Thr 403 f.
3, 5-8. 13-17. 19-23 Till, Bibl. JRL. 442-4
4, 2-20 Wessely, Stud 18, pp. 20 f.

- 4, 5-8. 10-12. 14-19 Donadoni, S Thr 405 f.
4, 12-5, 19 Till, S AT 227-230

Letter of Jeremiah

- 15-18. 20. 21. 24-26 Till, S AT 230-232

Baruch

- 1, 1. 2. 4. 5 Shier, S OT 167
3, 6-30 W. Till, "Ein sahidisches Baruchfragment", *Le Muséon*, 46 (1933), 35-41.

Ezekiel

- 20, 41-49 Lefort, MS. Louv. 70 f.
29, 8-10. 20-30, 1 Till, Bibl. JRL. 445
46, 23-47, 2 Till, S AT 232 f.
47, 4-8 Till, S AT 233

Daniel

- 3, 26-45. 52-54 Till-Sanz, Od 97-109
5, 6-10 Till, S AT 237
12, 7-9 Till, Bibl. JRL. 446

Susanna

- 28-38 Till, S AT 234-236

Manasseh

- 1-15 Till-Sanz, Od 91-97

New Testament

After Vaschalde's list of the Sahidic versions of the Bible was completed the rest of G. Horner's edition of the Sahidic NT was published: *The Coptic version of the New Testament in the Southern dialect otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*.
vol. iv (Oxford 1920): Romans, I and II Corinthians.
vol. v (Oxford 1920): The rest of the Pauline Epistles.
vol. vi (Oxford 1922): The Acts of the Apostles.
vol. vii (Oxford 1924): The Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse.

Matthew

- 2, 6. 7. 9. 12. 13. 15. 16 Till, Kl B Frg. 247 f.
2, 16-18 Till, Kl B Frg. 248
3, 13-16 Wessely, Stud. 18, p. 18
4, 3. 4 Till, Kl B Frg. 248
5, 17-19 Kahle, Bal 400 f.
6, 10-12. 19. 20 Till, Kl B Frg. 248 f.
6, 29. 30 Till, Kl B Frg. 249
7, 1. 2 Till, Kl B Frg. 249
8, 14. 15. 30. 31 Till, Kl B Frg. 250
8, 19. 20. 23. 24. 26. 29 Till, Kl B Frg. 250 f.

9, 6. 17 Till, Kl B Frg. 251

9, 13-21 { R. Engelbach, "Fragment of the Gospel of Saint Matthew in Coptic
(Sahidic dialect)", *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*,
10, 5-16 { 21 (Cairo, 1921), 118-122.

10, 14-21 Kahle, Bal 334 f.

10, 23-25 Till, Kl B Frg. 251

10, 23-30. 32-35. 37-41 Kahle, Bal 336-338

11, 5 Till, Kl B Frg. 251

14, 21. 22. 25-27. 30. 31. 36

16, 8. 12. 15. 16. 20

G. Garrido, "Un nouveau papyrus de l'Évangile de saint Mathieu en copte sahidique," *Les Cahiers coptes*, 15 (Cairo, 1957), 5-16, and "Hallazgo de un papiro del Nuevo Testamento en copto sahidico," *Estudios Bíblicos*, 17 (1958), 107-8. I have not seen these publications.

16, 9-18 Till, Kl B Frg. 252 f.

17, 1. 4 Till, Kl B Frg. 253

17, 20. 24. 25 Kahle, Bal 339

19, 8-10. 12. 14-20 Till, Kl B Frg. 253 f.

21, 41. 42. 45. 46 Kahle, Bal 338

22, 13. 14. 17. 18 Till, Kl B Frg. 254 f.

22, 30-32. 39-43 Till, Kl B Frg. 255

24, 24. 32. 47-49 Till, Kl B Frg. 256

24, 51-25, 1 Till, Kl B Frg. 256

25, 5. 6. 9. 10 Till, Kl B Frg. 256 f.

26, 29. 30. 33. 34. 45. 48. 49 Till, Kl B Frg. 257

26, 45-48. 52-55. 58-60 Till, Kl B Frg. 258 f.

27, 10. 11. 24 Till, Kl B Frg. 259

27, 31. 32. 39. 45. 50. 51 Till, Kl B Frg. 259 f.

27, 47-28, 4 Till, Kl B Frg. 260-2

27, 63. 64 Till, Bibl. JRL. 446

28, 2-5 Till, Bibl. JRL. 447

28, 5-8. 10. 12. 13 Till, Kl B Frg. 262 f.

28, 11. 18-20 Till, Kl B Frg. 263

28, 20 Kahle, Bal 338

Mark

I, 1-3. 27-31 Munier, MLC 81 f.

I, 5-9 Till, Kl B Frg. 361

I, 6 Till, Kl B Frg. 361

4, 15-17. 20-24. 27. 28 Till, Kl B Frg. 362

12, 6. 7. 18. 19 Till, Kl B Frg. 363

15, 19. 20. 24-27 Till, Kl B Frg. 363

15, 21. 22. 31. 32 Till, Kl B Frg. 363 f.

Luke

I, 46-51 Till-Sanz, Od 111

6, 27. 29-33 Lefort, MS. Louv. 81

7, 8. 9. 18. 19. 26. 27 Till, Kl B Frg. 364

- 8, 28. 29. 37. 38 Till, Kl B Frg. 365
 9, 41. 42. 53 Till, Kl B Frg. 365
 14, 18. 19. 27 Till, Kl B Frg. 365 f.
 15, 3. 4. 13 Till, Kl B Frg. 366
 15, 4-13 Lefort, MS. Louv. 82 f.
 16, 13. 15-17. 19-22. 25. 26 Till, Kl B Frg. 366 f.
 17, 15-29 Kahle, Bal 340 f.
 18, 9-11. 25-28 Till, Kl B Frg. 367 f.
 19, 30-46 Kahle, Bal 342 f.

John

There are two manuscripts in the collection of Chester Beatty (now in Dublin) containing the Sahidic version of the Gospel of St. John. A collation of their texts is to be found in Thompson, *Cpt vers*, 251-256. Crum, *WS* 30-32 contains collations of John 1, 20-3, 2; 4, 39-47; 20, 31-21, 2; 21, 7-25.

- 1, 12. 15 Till, Kl B Frg. 368
 2, 24-3, 15 Kahle, Bal 344-7
 3, 32. 33 Till, Kl B Frg. 368
 4, 9 Till, Kl B Frg. 368
 4, 15 (?) seems to me more probable than 13, 8a (Vaschalde). Wessely, *Stud* 12, No. 177
 6, 11. 24. 47. 48. 65-68. 71 Till, Kl B Frg. 369 f.
 7, 1-3. 8-12. 17. 18 Till, Kl B Frg. 369 f.
 7, 6-10. 12. 17. 20-22 Till, Kl B Frg. 370-372
 7, 7 Till, Kl B Frg. 372
 7, 23-26. 28. 32. 33. 35-37 Till, Kl B Frg. 372 f.
 11, 32. 33. 36-39 Till, Kl B Frg. 374
 11, 48. 49. 54. 55 Till, Kl B Frg. 374
 12, 36. 37. 41. 42 Till, Kl B Frg. 375
 13, 38-14, 3 Lefort, MS. Louv. 84
 14, 8-10. 14-17. 21-23 Lefort, MS. Louv. 84 f.
 15, 14-22. 24-26 Kahle, Bal 348-350
 17, 13-15. 19-21. 23. 24. 26-18, 1 Till, *Perg. theol.* 15 (collation)
 20, 15-19. 28-21, 2 Till, *Perg. theol.* 16 (collation)

Acts

Complete text : Thompson, *Cpt vers* 1-85

- 1, 25. 26 Till, Kl B Frg. 375
 2, 4. 7. 10. 11 Till, Kl B Frg. 375
 2, 40-3, 5 Till, *Perg. theol.* 16 (collation)
 3, 1-21 Till, *Perg. theol.* 16 f. (collation)
 3, 19-4, 17 Till, *Perg. theol.* 17 f. (collation)
 4, 20-33 Till, *Perg. theol.* 18 (collation)
 7, 18. 19 Till, Kl B Frg. 376
 8, 39. 40 Till, *Bibl. JRL.* 447
 9, 1. 6-8 Till, *Bibl. JRL.* 447 f.
 10, 39-45 Lefort, MS. Louv. 86
 10, 39-41. 45-47 Till, *Bibl. JRL.* 448

10, 43. 44. 47 Till, Bibl. JRL. 449

11, 2. 3. 5. 6. 9. 10. 13 Till, Bibl. JRL. 449

13, 34-38 Till, Bibl. JRL. 450

20, 23-21, 3 Till, Perg. theol. 19 (collation)

23, 10 Wessely, Stud. 11, p. 71 *supra* (not identified in the edition)

28, 26-31 Crum, WS 32 (collation)

Carl Wessely, *Die Wiener Handschrift der sahidischen Acta Apostolorum* (Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 172/2, Wien 1913) contains the following passages :

2, 35. 36. 41. 42. 47 pp. 29 f.

3, 5. 6. 11. 12. 26 pp. 30 f.

4, 1. 7. 8. 24. 29. 30. 33. 34 pp. 31 f.

5, 3. 9. 13-15. 20. 21. 25-27. 31-34. 36. 37. 41. 42 pp. 33-36

6, 5. 9. 10. 14. 15 pp. 36 f.

7, 1. 2. 5. 6. 10. 11. 16-18. 23-25. 29. 30. 35. 40. 41. 44. 45. 51. 52. 57. 58 pp. 37-42

8, 1-3. 9. 10. 14-16. 22-24. 27-29. 32-34. 39. 40 pp. 42-45

9, 1. 4-7. 11-13. 17-19. 21-23. 28-31. 34-36. 39-41 pp. 45-50

10, 2-4. 7-10. 15-18. 22. 23. 25-29. 31-33. 37-39. 42-44. 48 pp. 51-56

11, 1-4. 7-11. 14-22. 25-27 pp. 56-60

12, 1-5. 7-9. 11-13. 16-25 pp. 60-64

13, 2-5. 8-11. 13-15. 18-22. 25-27. 31-34. 37-41. 43-46. 48-52 pp. 64-70

14, 3-6. 10-13. 15-18. 20-23. 27. 28 pp. 70-74

15, 1-6. 8-12. 16-20. 22. 23. 26-29. 33-37. 39-41 pp. 74-79

16, 1. 2. 4-9. 11-18. 20-23. 26-29. 33-36. 38-40 pp. 79-85

17, 1. 2. 4-6. 10-12. 15-17. 21-23. 25-28. 31-34 pp. 85-89

18, 2-5. 8-11. 14-17. 19-22. 25-27 pp. 89-93

19, 2-6. 9-11. 13-16. 19-22. 25-27. 29-33. 35-38 pp. 93-98

20, 1-4. 7-9. 12-15. 18-20. 24-27. 30-32. 36-38 pp. 98-102

21, 1. 4-7. 11. 12. 16-19. 21-24. 26-28. 32-34. 37-39 pp. 102-107

22, 2-4. 7-10. 12-15. 19-22. 25-27. 30 pp. 107-110

23, 1. 5. 6. 9-11. 14. 15. 19-21. 24-27. 31-34 pp. 111-114

24, 2-4. 10-12. 16-19. 23. 24. 27 pp. 115-117

25, 1-3. 7-9. 12-14. 18. 19. 23. 24 pp. 117-119

26, 2. 3. 7. 8. 24 pp. 119 f.

Romans

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 89-118.

1, 1-6. 10-13. 17-20 Till, Bibl. JRL. 451-453

1, 30. 31 Wessely, S PB 12

2, 4 Wessely, S PB 12

3, 13-5, 9 Ad. Hebbelyneck, "Fragment Borgia de l'Épître aux Romains en copte sahidique", *Le Muséon*, 35 (Louvain, 1922), 196-201

3, 23-25 Wessely, S PB 13

3, 29-4, 1 Wessely, S PB 13 f.

4, 9-6, 4 Wessely, S PB 14-23

5, 13. 14 Crum, ST no. 13

7, 7-11. 15-18. 21-24 Wessely, S PB 24-26

8, 3-5. 10. 11. 27-29 Wessely, S PB 26-28

- 9, 30-10, 3 Till, Kl B Frg. 376 f.
 10, 6-10 Till, Kl B Frg. 376 f.
 11, 15-17. 22 Wessely, S PB 28
 11, 30-12, 7 Till, Kl B Frg. 377 f.
 16, 18-27 Lefort, MS. Louv. 87 f.

I Corinthians

- Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 119-47
 1, 4. 8. 9. 11. 14. 15. 21. 25. 27 Till, Bibl. JRL. 454 f.
 5, 6-8 Kahle, Bal 353
 6, 3-5 Kahle, Bal 353
 6, 7-10 Lefort, MS. Louv. 89
 6, 19-7, 13 Kahle, Bal 353-5
 7, 3-29 Wessely, S PB 29-33
 7, 17-19. 22. 23 Kahle, Bal 356
 7, 38-8, 1 Kahle, Bal 356 f.
 8, 3-11 Kahle, Bal 356-8
 13, 2-14, 12 Lefort, MS. Louv. 90-93
 13, 9-13 Till, Kl B Frg. 379
 14, 3-7 Till, Kl B Frg. 379

II Corinthians

- Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 147-66
 3, 16. 17 Kahle, Bal 358
 4, 2. 5. 8 Kahle, Bal 358 f.
 11, 3. 4. 26 Till, Kl B Frg. 380

Galatians

- Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 188-197
 5, 18-20. 26 Till, Bibl. JRL. 455
 6, 1 Till, Bibl. JRL. 455

Ephesians

- Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 198-207
 2, 11. 13 Kahle, Bal 388 f.
 3, 10-21 Wessely, S PB 36-38
 4, 1-7. 24 Wessely, S PB 39 f.
 5, 5 Wessely, S PB 41

Philippians

- Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 207-214
 1, 10-25. 28-30 Wessely, S PB 41-45
 1, 27-2, 1 Lefort, MS. Louv. 93 f.
 1, 27-2, 10 Kahle, Bal 368-70
 1, 29. 30 Kahle, Bal 364
 2, 12 Kahle, Bal 364

3, 7-20 Kahle Bal 371 f.

4, 8. 9 Till, Kl. B Frg. 382

Colossians

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 215-21

1, 1-12 Kahle, Bal 373 f.

1, 24-2, 7 Kahle, Bal 364-6

4, 1-3. 5-9. 11. 12 Kahle, Bal 375 f.

4, 14. 15 Till, Kl B Frg. 382

I Thessalonians

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 222-8

1, 5-2, 3 Lefort, MS. Louv. 95 f.

II Thessalonians

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 228-31

I Timothy

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 231-9

4, 12-5, 2 Kahle, Bal 383 f.

5, 4. 10. 11. 13-18 Kahle, Bal 383-5

5, 11-13. 16. 17 Till, Kl B Frg. 382 f.

II Timothy

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 239-44

4, 20-22 Kahle, Bal 380

Titus

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 244-7

1, 1-6 Kahle, Bal 380-2

1, 9-2, 14 Kahle, Bal 385-7

1, 11. 12. 16-2, 1 Wessely, S PB 49

2, 5. 6. 10 Wessely, S PB 50

3, 8. 13. 14 Till, Kl B Frg. 383

Philemon

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 248 f

1. 2. 5-7 Till, Kl B Frg. 383 f.

2. 3. 6. Till, Kl B Frg. 384

Hebrews

Complete text : Thompson, Cpt vers 166-88

6, 17-7, 9 Kahle, Bal 359-361

7, 17-21 Till, Bibl. JRL. 456

9, 19-10, 1 Kahle, Bal 362 f.

9, 22-10, 1 Till, Kl B Frg. 380 f.

10, 4-16 Till, Kl B Frg. 381

James

- 3, 1-3 Lefort, MS. Louv. 97
 3, 14. 15. 17. 18 Kahle, Bal 394
 4, 3. 5. 6 Kahle, Bal 395 f.

I Peter

- 1, 1-11 Crum, ST no. 14
 1, 21. 22 Wessely, Stud. 12, No. 171
 2, 1-9 Lefort, MS. Louv. 98-100
 2, 20. 21 Crum, WS 43
 2, 21-3, 1 Kahle, Bal 390 f.
 3, 3. 4 Kahle, Bal 392 f.
 3, 9. 11. 12. 14. 16. 17 Lefort, MS. Louv. 101

II Peter

- 2, 10-17 Till, Bibl. JRL. 456-8

I John

- 2, 8-10 Kahle, Bal 397
 2, 11-15 Kahle, Bal 393 f.

Apocalypse

- 1, 1-8 { L. Th. Lefort, "Le prologue de l'Apocalypse en sahidique", *Le Muséon*, 54 (Louvain, 1941), 107-110 (text on page 109).
 1, 1-6. 10. 11. 19. 20 } L. Th. Lefort, "Une étrange recension de l'Apocalypse",
 2, 1 } *Le Muséon*, 43 (Louvain, 1930), 2 f.
 1, 3-5. 8-13 Kahle, Bal 398 f.
 2, 18-3, 3 Munier, ANT
 6, 5-7, 1 Munier, ANT
 12, 12 Wessely, Stud. 12, No. 164
 18, 23-19, 10 Till, Perg. theol. 19 f.
 19, 20-20, 9 Wessely, Stud. 18, pp. 119 f. Not identified in the edition.
 22, 6-8. 17. 18 Till, Kl B Frg. 384 f.
 22, 12 (?) Till, Kl B Frg. 385

Bohairic

The orthodox Coptic society "Abnaa el-Kanisa" (Sons of the Church) is publishing the Bohairic text of the Pentateuch. So far as I know, Genesis and Exodus have been issued with the title *The Holy Book. The Old Testament* (in Coptic), Cairo, 1939. It is a magnificent edition of the Coptic text with a new Arabic translation. The Bohairic books of the New Testament have been published by the same society, in 1934, with the title *The Book of the New Testament* (in Coptic). No Arabic translation is added. These editions are intended for the religious use of Copts. They do not present the text of a particular manuscript and have no critical notes. Another Egyptian edition of the Bohairic New Testament is *The Holy Book. The New Testament. The first part: The four Gospels* (in Coptic). It has been published by a commission of the

Coptic orthodox Clerical School (Cairo, 1935) with an Arabic translation and critical notes.

Parts of the Bohairic Old Testament have been edited in the following publications.

W. E. Crum, *Coptic manuscripts brought from the Fayyum* (London, 1893) (= Vaschalde's : Crum 6), 13-15 : Exodus 15, 1-16 ; Daniel 3, 64-82. 86. 88.

Yassa Abd al-Masih, "The hymn of the Three Children in the furnace", *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, 12 (Cairo, 1949), 8-11 : Daniel 3, 52-88.

O.H.E. Burmester, "The Bohairic Pericope of III Kingdoms xviii 36-39", *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 36 (1935), 159.

O. H. E. Burmester, "The Bohairic pericopae of Wisdom and Sirach", *Biblica*, 15 (Rome, 1934), 451-465 (introduction) ; 16 (1935) 35-57 (text) ; *ibid.* 141-174 (notes). This edition contains the following passages :

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Wisdom 1, 1-9 | Sirach 4, 20-5, 2 |
| 2, 12-22 | 12, 13-13, 1 |
| 5, 1-7. 1-11. 13 | 22, 7-18 |
| 7, 24-30 | 23, 7-14 |
| Sirach 1, 1-19. 20-30 | 24, 1-11 |
| 2, 1-9 | Song of Songs 4, 14-5, 10 |

Parts of both the Old and the New Testament have been edited by E. M. Husselman : "A Bohairic school text on papyrus", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 6 (Chicago, 1947), 129-151. It contains Job 1, 1 and Romans 1, 1-8. 13-15. Parts of the Bohairic New Testament are edited by W. P. Hatch, "Six Coptic fragments of the New Testament from Nitria", *The Harvard Theological Review*, 26 (1923), 99-108, containing parts of Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, and James. I have not seen this publication.

H. G. Evelyn White, *Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius* (The Monasteries of Wadi n'Natrûn, part i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1926) contains collations of the Bohairic version of the following passages : Exodus 34, 29-35 ; 35, 1-10 ; 39, 30 f. + 36, 8 f. 35-38 + 38, 9-18, and I Corinthians 14, 20-28.

A. Mallon, *Grammaire copte*, 4^e édition (M. Malinine) (Beyrouth, 1956), Chrestomathie 37-43, contains the complete Bohairic text of Jonah from a Paris manuscript

A collation of John 10, 12-18; 11, 6-15 is to be found in Till, *Perg. theol.* 30.

There is one edition of Bohairic Biblical manuscripts of outstanding importance because the manuscript is as early as the fourth century whilst the bulk of the Bohairic manuscripts are not earlier than the ninth. This large manuscript has been edited by Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer III, Évangile de Jean et Genèse I-IV, 2 en bohairique. Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, 177, *Scriptores coptici*, 25 (Louvain, 1958). It contains

Genesis 1, 1-4, 2 pp. 47-52

John 1, 1. 2. 9. 14. 15. 18-21. 24. 25. 45, p. 1

John 2, 9. 11. 15. 16, p. 1

John 3, 33, p. 1

John 4, 5-15. 20-54, pp. 1-4

John 4, 20-21, 25, pp. 4-46

Important for its early age is also a small Bohairic fragment which Paul E. Kahle has edited in "A biblical fragment of the fourth to fifth century in Semi-Bohairic", *Le Muséon*, 63 (Louvain, 1950), 147-57. It contains Philippians 3, 19-4, 9 and has been re-edited in Kahle, *Bal* 377-9.

Fayyumic

A. Kropp has promised an edition of a manuscript containing parts of the Fayyumic version of the Song of Songs, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes.

Psalms

1, 1 Till, Perg. theol. 29 (re-edited)
34, 16-19. 22-26 Till, Wien F 179 f.

Jeremiah

22, 20-23, 2 Till, Perg. theol. 21-3
23, 5. 6 Till, Perg. theol. 24
26, 8-10. 24-26 Till, Wien F 173 f.
27, 2-20 Till, Wien F 174-7
38, 3. 4. 8. 12. 16 Till, Wien F 177 f.

Susanna

54. 55. 63. 64 Till, Wien F 181
63. 64 Till, Wien F 182

Daniel

1, 1-4 Till, Wien F 182 f.
2, 47-49 Till, Wien F 184
3, 1-3 Till, Wien F 185
3, 79-85. 88-92 Till, Wien F 186 f.

New Testament

R. McL. Wilson is preparing an edition of all known fragments of the Fayyumic New Testament.

Matthew

1, 15-20 Till, F NT 237 f. (or 1, 10-12. 18-20? P. E. Kahle)
15, 13. 14. 17. 19 Till, Perg. theol. 26 f. (re-edited)
17, 6. 7. 11. 12 Till, Wien F 191 (identified by P. E. Kahle)
18, 22 Till, Wien F 211 (identified by P. E. Kahle)

Mark

4, 15-17. 20-22. 26-29. 32-34 Till, Wien F 188 f.
6, 16. 17. 28-30 Till, Perg. theol. 28 (re-edited)
15, 29-31. 33. 34 Till, Perg. theol. 29
15, 43-16, 7 Till, F NT 233 f.

John

- 2, 25-3, 2 Till, Wien F 210 (identified by P. E. Kahle)
 4, 3-14 Till, F NT 229 f.
 9, 19, 20, 24 Till, Wien F 190
 13, 38-14, 3, 7-10, 13-17, 21-23 Lefort, MS. Louv. 83-85
 16, 25-27, 32, 33 Till, Wien F 192 f.
 16, 32 Till, Wien F 190
 17, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 14 Till, Wien F. 190 f.

Acts

- 7, 14-28 Kahle, Bal 286-88 (re-edited)
 9, 28-39 Kahle, Bal 289 f. (re-edited)

Romans

- 5, 15-18 Till, Wien F 197 f.
 11, 30-35 Till, Bibl. JRL. 453 f.
 12, 1-3 Till, Bibl. JRL. 454
 14, 13, 14 Till, Wien F 198 f.

I Corinthians

- 15, 29, 32 Till, Wien F 201 (identified by P. E. Kahle)
 15, 43-47, 57-16, 2 Till, Wien F 200, partly edited at first : Till, Perg. theol. 25

Galatians

- 6, 13-18 Worrell, F Ep 129

Ephesians

- 1, 3-7, 10-14, 18-22 Worrell, F Ep 130-2
 6, 19-24 Worrell, F Ep 133

Philippians

- 1, 2-6, 9-11, 17-22 Worrell, F Ep 134-136

Hebrews

- 10, 26-32 Till, Wien F 203 f.
 11, 21-32 Worrell, F Ep 138 f.

James

- 1, 21-26 Till, Wien F 195 f. (identified by P. E. Kahle)

I Peter

- 2, 11-13, 20-23 Till, Wien F 194
 5, 2-8 Till, Wien F 196 f.

II Timothy

- 3, 15-17 Till, Wien F 201 f.
 4, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8-10 Till, Wien F 201 f.

Achmimic

Exodus

15, 14-21. 24-16, 19 Lefort, Frg. A 4-9

23, 20-32 Lefort, Frg. A 10-12

24, 2. 3 Lefort Frg. A 12

Psalms

46, 3-10 W. E. Crum, "Un psaume en dialecte d'Akhmim", *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, 67 (Cairo, 1934), 73-76.

Proverbs

Complete text in A. Böhlig, *Der achmimische Proverbientext nach Ms. Berol. orient. oct. 987. Teil I: Text und Rekonstruktion der sahidischen Vorlage. Studien zur Erforschung des christlichen Aegyptens*, 3 (München, 1958).

The Minor Prophets

The text of those parts of the manuscript which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (the larger part is in Vienna) has been re-edited by M. Malinine in "Version achmimique des Petits Prophètes", *Coptic studies in honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (= *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, ii) (Boston, 1950), pp. 365-415. This edition contains :

Joel 1, 14-2, 19 pp. 370-2

Amos 8, 11-9, 15 pp. 372-4

Micah 1, 1-2, 11 ; 5, 8-6, 1 pp. 374-7

Obadiah 13-21 pp. 377 f.

Jonah 1, 1-4, 2 pp. 379-82

Nahum 3, 8-14 pp. 382 f.

Habakkuk 1, 1-7 ; 2, 2-17 pp. 383-5

Zechariah 1, 1-6 ; 4, 6-7, 14, pp. 385-91

Daniel

3, 50-55 Amundsen, Chr. pap

Matthew

11, 25-30 Amundsen, Chr. pap

Luke

The passages quoted between brackets here have been re-edited in the other publication.

(12, 27. 28. 37) Lefort, Luc. A 203

12, 27-34. 37-44. 49-53 Lefort, Frg. A 21-4

13, 1-3 Lefort, Frg. A 24 f.

17, 27-18, 11 Lefort, Frg. A 25-8

(17, 34-18, 2) Lefort, Luc. A 203 f.

(18, 8-11) Lefort, Luc. A 204

James

5, 17. 18. 20 W. Till, "Ein achmimisches Jakobusbrieffragment", *Le Muséon*, 51 (Louvain, 1938), 69-71

There are some quotations in W. Till, *Osterbrief und Predigt in achmimischem Dialekt, Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde*, ii/1 (Leipzig, 1931). These are:

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Psalms 10, 1 II, 16 f. | Luke 10, 19 II, 28 f. |
| 72, 7 II, 33 f. | I Corinthians 15, 55 II, 25 f. |
| 80, 2. 3. II, 11-14 | Galathians 5, 19 III, 29 f. |
| Song 2, 10-12 III, 2-4 | Colossians 3, 2 III, 9 f. |
| Isaiah 52, 1 III, 22 | 3, 9. 10 III, 28 f. |
| 60, 1 II, 6 f. | James 4, 8 II, 3 f. |
| Matthew 22, 4 III, 12 f. | |

Subachmimic (Assioutic)

Almost the whole of the text of the Gospel of St. John has been edited by Sir Herbert Thompson, *The Gospel of St. John according to the earliest Coptic manuscript. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account. Twenty-ninth year, 1923* (London, 1924). This edition comprises the following passages :

John 2, 12-3, 21
 John 4, 6-7, 11
 John 7, 28-19, 41
 John 20, 4-8. 13-27.

Appendix

I owe many thanks to Mr. Martin Bodmer (Geneva) and the Rev. Rodolphe Kasser (Combas) for having given me the following information and permission to publish it in this article. There are some more early manuscripts in the collections of Mr. Bodmer and the University of Mississippi (U.S.A.) containing biblical texts in Sahidic. Mr. Kasser is preparing an edition of them which is to be published in the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scriptores coptici*. The manuscripts comprise the following biblical texts :

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Exodus 1, 1-15, 21 (vellum) | |
| Deuteronomy 1, 12-17 ; 1, 19-9, 26. (papyrus) | |
| Joshua 6, 16-25 ; 7, 6-11, 23 ; 22, 1-2 ; 22, 19-23, 7 ; 23, 15-24, 23 (papyrus) | |
| Song of Songs 1, 4-3, 1 ; 4, 2-6, 9 ; 7, 10-8, 12 (vellum) | |
| Isaiah 47, 1-51, 17 ; 52, 4-56, 24 (papyrus) | |
| Jeremiah 40, 3-52, 34 | } (vellum) |
| Lamentations 1, 1-5, 22 | |
| Letter of Jeremiah 1, 1-72 | |
| Baruch 1, 1-5, 5 | } (vellum) |
| Matthew 14, 28-28, 20 | |
| Romans 1, 1-25 | |
| II Maccabees 5, 27-7, 41 | } (papyrus) |
| I Peter 1, 1-5, 14 | |
| Jonah 1, 1-4, 11 | |

NEW PLAYS OF MENANDER

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THE most substantial contribution of the twentieth century to the study and appreciation of Greek literature has lain in its discovery of Greek papyri. The John Rylands Library has a notable collection of these treasures, which in miraculous manner have restored the very words of Greek writers often known only by repute and hearsay. Four texts in its collection are of Greek New Comedy. It is therefore fitting that Menander should come alive again in its precincts.¹

I have given as my title "New Plays of Menander", for I shall refer to two; and I can confidently predict that other plays than those of which I shall speak will shortly emerge. In 1938 Alfred Körte gave the world his third Teubner edition of the papyrus fragments; its second part, issued in 1954 and containing the book fragments, completed with sumptuous care by Andreas Thierfelder, might have seemed to close an era in Menandrian scholarship. Classical scholarship, however, whatever outsiders may think, is alive and on the move. The end of one chapter is the beginning of another. The work of Körte and Thierfelder is proving its worth as a sharp tool in the hands of those working on the new material.

I begin with a few words about a codex from Antinoopolis, which Dr. John Barns is to publish shortly in the second volume of *The Antinoopolis Papyri*. Nine pieces of fine parchment survive, written in a beautiful small hand of the fourth century. In one scene a slave, perhaps called Dromon, in a soliloquy wonders whether to take a risk in order to help forward his master's love affair. In another, master and slave discover a challenge (πρόκλησις) and a paper (γραμματείδιον) lying on the altar.

¹ A lecture given in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 14th of January, 1959.

In a third, a character whose name is perhaps to be read Thrās () (a soldier?), learns that a girl has borne a child, and hears the name of a young man Moschion. There are fragments of drinking scenes, of a slave being scolded for helping his master's intrigues. Dr. Barns suggests in his publication that these scraps come from Menander's play *Μισογύνης*, *The Misogynist*. In default of the presence in the parchment of an attested ancient fragment—the closest approximation is the reputed *γραμματείδιον* and the *πρόκλησις* (cf. Kö³ 278, 279)—his argument reassembles the fragments and testimonies, and shows how they could make a good Menandrian comedy. If this case has a weakness, it seems to me to be in the relatively minor role that is allotted to the *Misogynist*, the name-character of the comedy.

We would have liked to know more, for the *Misogynist* should be an excellent foil to the *Misanthrope*: which, as we know from the ancient Hypothesis, was an alternative title of the *Dyskolos*, the *Disagreeable* or *Irritable Man*. It is on this play that I propose to concentrate for the rest of this paper. It, too, is a papyrus text, one of the treasures of M. Martin Bodmer, the noted Swiss bibliophile. The *editio princeps*¹ was edited by Professor Victor Martin, Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of Geneva, who should be remembered with honour in Manchester as co-editor of the second volume of the Catalogue of the John Rylands Papyri.

The papyrus itself is in codex form, and is complete in the sense that beginning and ending are marked, and no whole pages are missing. Tears at the ends or beginnings of lines, especially at the tops and bottoms of the pages, have caused a few passages to take on a patchy look. To judge from the handwriting, which can be studied in the admirable plates accompanying the edition, the text was copied between the middle and the end of the third century after Christ: the hand is a clear but not stylish capital, which slants markedly to the right. The scribe inserted a considerable number of punctuation marks and accents; added the names of characters at what he thought were their first entries

¹ *Papyrus Bodmer IV: Ménandre, Le Dyscolos* (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1958). Cf. earlier V. Martin, *Museum Helveticum*, xv (1958), 209-14; P. Photiades, *Greece and Rome*, series 2, 5 (1958), 108-22.

or re-entries, thereafter marking alternation of speaker by double dot combined with paragraphus.

The scene is set in the countryside of Attica near the township of Phyle, forty miles north of Athens. To the spectator's left is the house of Cnemon, the name-character. Some distance away, not really next door, and on the spectator's right is the house of Gorgias, the Disagreeable Man's stepson. He lives there with his mother, who has herself found Cnemon unbearable to live with. In the centre of the stage is a shrine of Pan and the Nymphs, no doubt a grotto, whose opening is placed between and perhaps a little further back than the houses. Pan himself comes out of the grotto, and explains matters :

" Imagine the place to be Phyle in Attica, and this shrine of the Nymphs, from which I have come out, to belong to the people of Phyle and such as can wrest a living from the rocks round here. It is a noted shrine. The land on my right is the home of Cnemon, a very unmannerly man, one disagreeable to all. He's no lover of crowds—crowds ! he's lived an age and never in his life said a pleasant word : *and never* started a conversation, unless (neighbour of mine that he is) he has had to pass me : and he has thought better of that at once, I know. Well, in spite of these ways of his, he married a widow-woman just after her previous partner died, and left a little son behind : she was his sparring-partner by day, and most of the night too. They had an *awful* life : a baby daughter arrived—worse and worse. When things got so that they couldn't go any further, and life turned hard and toilsome, the lady went back to the son of her former marriage. He has a little property quite close to here [the house on the left], which gives a poor livelihood to him, his mother, and one ¹ trusty servant of his father's. He's a young man now, with sense beyond his years—experience has been his tutor. The old man lives alone with his daughter and an old woman to wait on him ; he gathers firewood, digs, and works without cease, and starting with his neighbours and his wife hates everyone from here right down to Cholargeis.

¹ l. 26, reading *εὔα*. Any divergencies from the text of the Swiss edition are set out in *Bull. Inst. Class. Studies*, vol. vi (1959), and will not be further explained here.

The girl has turned out like her upbringing—not a bad notion in her head, a worshipper and careful minister to the Nymphs who wait on me. Her respect for us has won us over to take some care for her : and there's a young man, son of a very well-to-do father, owner of properties worth many talents, and a city dweller, who came out here with his huntsman—by chance I brought him to the spot and made him fall madly in love with her. There's the synopsis : if you want more, you will keep your eyes on the stage. It's high time, for I can see the young lover and his companion coming, deep in conversation."

This friend is the parasite in the play. He lives by playing up to his patron's whims. As recipient of Sostratus's confidences, he is drawing him out as the two approach : "Do you mean to tell me, Sostratus, you saw a free girl putting garlands on the Nymphs here, and fell in love with her instantly?" And when Sostratus says "Yes", he continues his teasing "You mean to say you intended to go out and fall in love with someone?" The position is indeed serious enough ; if the girl is free, that is, a citizen (not a slave or a *hetaera*), there can be no question of an intrigue. The penalties are great in case of discovery, for the law protects the womenfolk of citizens ; and indeed their families give them little opportunity. Besides, she will be country-bred, unlikely to have a dowry. All of this Sostratus knows, but he is ready to marry the vision revealed to him, even on these terms, before he knows who she is. He has sent his huntsman Pyrrhias to find out about her and—a breach of manners this, as he realizes when he mentions it—to speak to her father or guardian. Why doesn't Pyrrhias come with an answer? At this very instant Pyrrhias arrives, out of breath, and quaking with fright. It is sometime before he can get out a coherent story : they are standing in front of a madman's house. When he knocked at the door earlier in order to carry out Sostratus's mission, an old woman referred him to her master. Pyrrhias approached with courteous enquiry—to be greeted with a "Villain, why are you on my land?" and a clod of earth aimed full in the face. When he could open his eyes again, the old man began to set about him with a stake, roaring "What business have you and I with

each other : don't you know the public road? " And as he ran, Cnemon picked up sods, stones, drew wild pears out of his bosom to pelt his quarry, Pyrrhias the huntsman ! It was some two miles before the latter could shake him off. " I'll come back tomorrow to make further enquiries ", is the parting shot of the parasite, as he makes himself scarce, leaving Sostratus and his huntsman engaged in mutual recrimination.

Cnemon is now heard in the distance. No doubt the huntsman Pyrrhias hides somewhere, not wishing to be recognized, and we turn to watch the misanthrope's entrance. The build-up for it is not let down : he is grumbling away—" What a lucky fellow the hero Perseus was on two counts : for one, he was airborne and didn't run into any of the crawlers on the ground ; secondly, because he had a nice little object for turning nuisances into stone. I wish I had it. There would be a plethora of statues hereabout. But as it is, life's not worth living ; chaps nowadays ¹ rush on to my land and chatter. I used to live by the roadside, then I gave up working all that part of my land because of the passers-by : but now they pursue me right up to the hill-tops ! What a crowd they are for breeding ! Good-lord—here's another fellow standing at my door ! " So threatening, is his behaviour that Sostratus makes the excuse that he was waiting there by arrangement to meet a friend. Cnemon bellows back—" If you want to meet anyone at my door, form them all up—build a seat, if you've any sense—why not a Parliament ?"—enters the house and bangs the door. It looks like a dead end for Sostratus. He will go and consult his father's slave Getas, who may be able to give some advice. He is almost off the stage when the door opens and the girl of his dreams comes out : " What a trouble I'm in now " she says, " what shall I do? Nurse was drawing water and has dropped the bucket in the well." " Father Zeus, Healer Apollo, friendly Dioscuri, what irresistible beauty ! " cries Sostratus. " My father as he went out told me to get him hot water ", she continues. " If he finds out about it, he'll beat her black and blue." In her distress she appeals to the Nymphs ; she would like to draw from their spring, but is ashamed in case there are other worshippers in the shrine.

¹ 1. 162, punctuate after ἡδῆ.

Sostratus appears, takes her pitcher and goes into the Nymphaeum. While he is away, a door is heard opening, and the girl is frightened: "Is that my father coming out? He'll beat me if he catches me out of doors." But no—it is the other house door that opens and disgorges the slave Daos, still talking to someone inside. His words are interrupted by "Take this," "Give it to me"; no doubt the pitcher is being passed back to the girl. "What does that fellow want?", says Daos, instantly suspicious. "Goodbye, look after your father", breathes Sostratus—does he manage a squeeze, too?—and sighs on parting. "Stop moaning", orders Pyrrhias, emerging from hiding after making a very quick change (this actor may also have played the girl), "go and tell Getas all about it as you intended to". They leave the stage to Daos. "I don't like it", he soliloquizes. "It's bad, a young man helping a girl. Curse Cnemon for keeping an innocent girl unprotected in a lonely place like this." He'll forestall the young fellow by telling the girl's half brother Gorgias—and he waddles off to do so.

By the opening of the next act we learn that Gorgias has been warned. He takes the duties of relationship seriously. If her father won't look after the girl, *he* will not imitate such an example. Yet how can they convince the old man? While they talk Sostratus reappears. He hasn't been able to find his would-be confidante, Getas, who has been sent for by his mistress to sacrifice somewhere in the country: he will take his courage in both hands and try his luck again at the misanthrope's door. But Gorgias and Daos have been eyeing Sostratus with the utmost suspicion, and Gorgias now lets loose an impetuous tirade: "All men in my view, whether prosperous or not, come to a full stop like this and suffer a change; the prosperous man continues to find his affairs remain steady and prosperous for just so long as he can bear fortune and do no wrong: but when he gets to that, after being borne forward on a good tide, he takes a change for the worse." [We shall not find this lecture tedious when we remember that it is delivered with passion by a farm labourer of twenty to another boy of the same age, who is his social superior.] "Those who are less well-endowed, if they do no ill for all their poverty, but nobly bear their destiny,

come to trust that at long last they can look to a better portion—well? ” [he can bear it no longer, but comes to the point]—“ well, even if you are ever so rich, don’t rely on riches, and again, don’t despise us poor men : present yourself to view as worthy to stay prosperous ! ” Sostratus mildly protests—Gorgias won’t be put off : “ I think you’re clearly guilty of a despicable scheme. You thought to seduce a free woman, and waited for an opportunity to perform a crime deserving many deaths.” “ It’s not right ”, he goes on, “ for your idleness to prove ruinous to us hard-working folk. Wrong a poor man and he’s the most disagreeable of mortals : for he really does become an object of pity ; and besides he takes his misfortunes as due to insult and not to his own failings.” Gorgias has said his say—and the congratulations of his slave¹ hinder still further Sostratus’s protestations. But at last he can put his own position clearly : he loves the girl ; he has come to find her father or relative, for he will take her as wife without a dowry : and if his intentions are dishonourable, he appeals to Pan to strike him dumb on the spot : indeed he is thoroughly upset that Gorgias should form such an opinion of him. How should Gorgias resist such a disclaimer, especially as Pan gives no sign? They are friends at once, and Gorgias reveals that the girl is his half-sister. But her father—Gorgias once heard him declare he would not marry him to any bridegroom less misanthropic than himself—which means never. It were better to give up the plan. “ Heavens, man, have you never been in love ? ” is Sostratus’s retort. “ No, for I may not : I am stopped by calculation without respite of my ever-present troubles.” But he will help his new friend, even over further difficulties : Cnemon hates the idle rich above his other hates, he will never allow one to come within speaking range. Let Sostratus take off his beautiful mantle or *χλαμῖς*, spit on his hands and dig, then he will be able to speak to Cnemon and the girl during their daily walk. Such is the power of love that Sostratus agrees, picks up the mattock and submits to a churlish slave’s directions. No doubt to an Athenian audience the spectacle of this fastidious young man splitting his back with toil was not the least of the play’s

happy touches. We see another in the entrance now of the slaves : they are a relief, they are comically ironic, and the strings of the plot tighten through their chatter. One we discover to be a cook coaxing a particularly recalcitrant sheep to the sacrifice, which they are to celebrate at the shrine : the other is that Getas of whom we have already heard.

We gather that Getas's mistress (Sostratus's mother), a superstitious lady, has dreamed that Pan was fastening shackles on her son's feet, and then told him to put on his leather apron and dig a neighbour's property. So Pan must be placated at his shrine. Sostratus's mother and family (and we are left to infer, his father) are on the road. The act ends.

Act three begins with Cnemon just going out and giving strict instructions that his door is to be opened to no one. But he is brought up short by the sacrifice going on at the shrine : the music of a flute accompanies the rite. "The nymphs are bad neighbours", he soliloquizes : "I shall move elsewhere." He returns indoors. We hear the voice of Getas, "You say the boiling pan's been forgotten? What'll we do now? Bother the god's neighbours, I suppose." In a walk punctuated by the call "slaves" he innocently knocks on Cnemon's door. We know what Cnemon will be like, Getas doesn't. "Don't bite me", he begs, after recovering from his surprise. "I'll eat you alive", roars Cnemon. "Boiling pan? Do you think I sacrifice bulls or do what you are doing?"¹ Getas stumps off, to be cursed roundly by the cook and given a lesson in manners.² "I work for thousands of people in Athens. Sometimes I have to bother their neighbours, but I get utensils from all. You've got to flatter if you want anything. Suppose an old man answers the door, I call him 'father' or 'dad', 'mother' if it's an old woman. If it's an in-between, I say 'president' or 'your reverence'; if it's a servant, 'Good sir' I say." But this familiarity with the ways of the world does not save Sicon when he knocks himself. Goaded to fury, Cnemon takes the

¹ For a Greek a sacrifice brought a good meal, often indeed a party. Cnemon was unlikely to spend his money on roast beef.

² See *B.I.C.S.* l.c. for the text of these lines.

whip to him, and shouts "I haven't got a pail or an axe or salt or vinegar or dittany¹ or anything." Shortly after Sostratus reappears: "Anyone short of trouble let him come hunting to Phyle. Oh my bottom, my back, my heels,—I ache all over. I went at it like a young man of parts, lifting my mattock high and digging deep . . . thinking it well worth while against the time when the old man and girl would pass by. . . . And then Gorgias spied me, looking at me working up and down like pump-handles: 'I don't think he'll come now', he said, 'we'll try again tomorrow!'" Sostratus then spies Getas and learns of the sacrificing party; his mother has already arrived, his father is expected. Good—he will invite Gorgias, and goes off to do it. And now the well takes a hand again. Cnemon's door opens and the old woman attendant cries out: "Misery, misery, misery! I wanted² to try to pull the bucket out of the well all by myself when the master was out of the way. I fastened a mattock on a rotten rope. It's just broken in my hands." Getas has little sympathy till he sees Cnemon coming up behind: "Fly, he'll murder you: or rather, stand up to him." "Where is the thief", roars Cnemon. "I didn't mean to drop it in", she whimpers. "Come inside, woman." "What will you do to me?" "I'll tie you up and let you down into the well." As he pushes her inside, Getas comments: "There's your true Attic peasant: he battles with rocks that bear no crop but thyme and sage-apple, knows pain, and gets no good of it." Sostratus (still in his digging clothes) goes on arguing with Gorgias, who is reluctant to accept his invitation.

We are not done with the well. It gets its biggest success at the opening of the fourth act. The old woman reappears: "Help, help! Master's in the well. He went down after the bucket and the mattock and slipped in." Her audience consists of the cook and is far from sympathetic. "Me go down the well?—to fight with a dog in a well, as in the fable." Fortunately for Cnemon, Gorgias hears the outcry: followed by Sostratus he rushes into the house. The cook holds the stage while we wonder what is going on inside: "There are Gods,

¹ 1. 507, keeping *ὀρίανον* from fr. 671 Ko.³

² 1. 578-9, reading *βουλομένη* . . . *ἐξελεῖν αὐτῇ*.

by Dionysus. You sacrilegious rogue, you grudged a boiling pan when we were sacrificing : drink up your well so that you needn't give anyone water even." He thanks the Nymphs : "No one has ever hurt a cook and got away with it : our craft has a touch of the liturgical." His indignation against Cnemon mounts : "If the old fellow is to be saved at all, let him be crippled and lamed." Sostratus returns and puts us out of our suspense : Gorgias leaped into the well, he Sostratus—gilded youth—could only stand at the top and tell the girl not to beat her breasts, and when it was his job to haul up, he dropped the rope three times with looking at his sweetheart and wanting to kiss her. Supported by Gorgias, Cnemon now comes in, dripping wet, much shaken : his folk throng around him, and Myrrhine (Gorgias's mother, Cnemon's wife) comes too : Sostratus hangs about at the back. This is Cnemon's biggest speech. In a long monologue of trochaic tetrameters he passes his life in review. "I wanted to be self-sufficient (*αὐταρκής*) and ask nothing of anyone. But now that I stare a bitter and untended¹ end of life in the face I see I decided wrong then. A man² should designate and admit to his confidence a friend to stand by at any time. I was so far bemused as I scanned each man's life and his calculations of profit, that I thought none would ever show any regard for any other. That was what stood in my way ! At long last Gorgias by himself³ has put it to the test, with a most noble action. One who wouldn't let him approach his door, who never lifted a finger to help him in any way, never spoke to him or addressed a pleasant word to him—that's the man he's gladly saved, in spite of all. Where anyone else⁴ would have justified himself by saying 'You won't let me visit you—I won't come to you. You've never been any use to me :—I won't be any use to you now. . . . ' Well now—if I die (and I feel bad) or if I survive, I adopt you as my son [he addresses Gorgias] ; consider all my possessions

¹ 1. 715, reading ἄσκεπον, suggested by T. B. L. Webster.

² 1. 717, δεικν[ύ]ναι δεῖ καὶ παρίεναι τὸν ἐπικουρήσοντ' αἰεί.

³ 1. 722 εἷς.

⁴ 1. 728-9 must at all costs be kept as part of Cnemon's speech. Read 1. 727 ἄλλος and κἀδικαίωσ' (so O. Szemerényi), and treat οὐκ ἔῃς . . . σοι νῦν as quoted justification.

as yours ; I entrust this girl to you, find a husband for her . . . you're guardian of your sister, portion her off worthily and give her half my property as dowry . . . now, daughter, put me to bed : I think it unmanly to speak more than the minimum, but I'll tell you a word about my life and character : if all men were just,¹ there'd be no law courts, there'd be no haling of each other off to prison, there'd be no war, and everyone would be content with a competence. But perhaps you like it as it is : act thus anyhow ; the vexatious old curmudgeon will soon be out of your way." While the barriers are down in this moment of revelation, Cnemon knows to move our attention. How long will the conversion last? Gorgias acts at once : he accepts the injunctions placed on him. Now to find the right husband for the girl. Cnemon wearily shakes his head—he is not to be bothered any further. "But here's a man on the spot." "Not a suitor, surely?" asks Cnemon. "My fellow-rescuer!". As Sostratus steps forward [he is, you remember, still dressed as a farmer], Cnemon comments—"Sunburned and a farmer . . . not a loafer, or an idle fellow to stroll about all day", and he gives his consent and goes inside. When Sostratus remarks that he is sure his own father will agree, Gorgias pronounces solemnly : "I betroth her to you in the sight of all these here : and justly, Sostratus, since you didn't assume a character but came sincerely and ready to do anything to marry. For all your delicacy, you picked up a mattock, dug and laboured. That's the role in which a man shows how to make himself another's equal—when a rich man puts himself under a poor man's orders." The compliments and the lecture are brought to an end by the arrival of Sostratus's father, Callipides, one of the richest men in Athens. Have they had breakfast yet? "Go and tell him all about us", says Gorgias. "He'll be better tempered after feeding", says Sostratus, who goes inside with his father.

There is a whole act yet to pass, and our twentieth-century taste might regard the action as over. Not so the Greek. Sostratus must get his parents' consent too ; and he has a

¹ I. 743 [εἰ δίκαιοι] shorter than [εἰπερ εὖ]νοι, but perhaps itself too long for the space.

further idea in his head. He will betroth his own sister to Gorgias and bring off a double event. Callipides proves surprisingly complaisant about the first request—he will accept Sostratus's chosen bride. But *two* poor kinsfolk—that's too much! Callipides is hardly prepared for the onset that follows: Sostratus has caught a taste for lecturing from Gorgias, and now delivers one to his father on the instability of wealth compared with the assets of friendship. It caught the fancy of the ancients and in Stobaeus's extract has rung down the ages. Callipides has no wish to stand up to such a tirade: "What I have amassed I don't want buried with me. It's all yours. Do you want to make a friend?—Try him and do it, and may good luck attend you! But don't preach to me!" But when they call Gorgias in, they find he has been listening at the door; his independent pride forbids him to resign himself to enjoyment of an unearned income, and it takes Callipides's bluntness—"You're a fool, though an honourable fool" to make him change his mind. We are reminded that, after Cnemon's recognition of him as son, Gorgias is no longer a poor man: and to the general amazement he can cap Callipides's offer of three talents dowry with a talent to endow Sostratus' bride. Details of the double betrothal settled, the wedding arrangements are set in motion: good wine, an all-night festival (*παννυχίς*), guests. Sostratus introduces the ladies from Cnemon's house to his mother, probably in the shrine of the Nymphs. But Cnemon himself won't come. "He begged us to take the Old Woman so that he might be quite alone." The old woman herself joins in, and adds her mite of pity: "You'll lie here alone, poor wretch, prisoner of your character"; and in a moment, when the festivities begin and the sound of a flute is heard, she suggests that someone else should sit with him. The slave Getas takes up the idea—he will "look after" (*θεραπεύω*) Cnemon all right! He is joined by the cook Sicon, and together they plan to tease the old man, left to their tender mercies. The last section of the play—a hundred lines of mocking iambic tetrameters—constitutes a sort of ballet or harlequinade, the "ragging of Cnemon". The plan is worked out by the fertile brain of the cook. He and Getas will together drag out Cnemon in his bed (for he cannot get up

unaided), and dance round him. A festal rhythm is tapped out by the cook :

παῖ παιδίον, παῖδες καλοὶ, παῖ παῖδες : οἷχον' οἷμοι

"Me lads, me lads, boys, boysie boys, me lads", "Now I'm a goner." To this mocking jingle they encircle him as he lies helpless in mid-stage. They pretend to knock at his door, and ask for boiling-pans, sage-apple, seven tripods, twelve tables, nine rugs, hundred-foot curtains. They mimic his responses, make him call out for his old attendant and curse her absence. "You shun a crowd, hate women, won't allow yourself to be carried to join the sacrificers. You must bear it. No one will come to help you." They force him to listen to a running commentary on the festivities, the drinking, the dancing ; and they bid him dance too. Only, it seems, when they get their way and he teeters a few steps across the stage do they relent and carry him back indoors. Then they themselves take their wreaths and torches to join in the merriment, while one steps forward to wind up the play with what must be Menander's seal or *sphragis*¹ "May Victory, laughter-loving daughter of a famous father, always smile on us !"

As we learn from the argument prefixed to the text, this prayer was granted. The play won first prize at the Lenaean festival when it was presented. And surely it is a winner ! Its gallery of characters, unity and speed of dramatic movement, wealth of comic invention, elegance yet simplicity of its dialogue, show a vigorous and resourceful playwright. On the stage it could hardly fail to be a roaring success.

The scholar will of course have a special interest in comparing it with the surviving fragments of the other plays, and revising his views both of them, and of the relationship of Plautus and Terence to Menander. First for its formal elements. The length of this first play of Menander to be known complete is a little more than 970 verses. The division into five Acts is clearly marked by the heading ΧΟΡΟΥ—the points at which

¹ These two verses (fr. 616 Kock), were assigned to the Epitrepontes by Wilamowitz. Since they are also found as the concluding couplet of an unpublished fragment of papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, the colophon of which carries the title *Μενάνδρου Θράττα* (an unknown play), it seems probable that Menander always made use of them to conclude his plays and put his own stamp on them.

interludes are sung by a chorus of tipsy revellers. This chorus is introduced at the end of the first act in the very same words as at the corresponding point (1.34) of the *Epitrepontes*—so conventionalized has this division become. Similarly conventionalized is the ending of the play ἡ δ' εὐπάτειρα κτλ. The Act divisions occur at lines 232, 436, 619, 783: the first Act is noticeably longer than the rest, the fourth noticeably shorter (164 verses): the most interesting surprise is the length of the last Act. As I have already noted, it adds little to the dramatic action, which was almost finished by the close of Act IV. This point is of material significance in the discussion of the surviving fragments of the *Samia* and seems to support Gomme's contention that they begin with Act II, not Act III (as Webster, Körte) or IV (Wilamowitz). The context of something like eighty lines of trochaic tetrameters and a hundred lines of iambic tetrameters (not so far recorded in Menander's verse) is also a point that calls for study. No doubt the "ballet" of the last Act has traditional elements in it. One remembers the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of the Old Comedy, the mockery of Lamachus in the *Acharnians*, the dancing exit of the *Wasps*. If our knowledge of Middle Comedy were greater, we might find such a scene to be a common closing formula. Other stock elements can be given their parallels from Middle Comedy: the cook who enters with a sheep round his neck, the parasite, even the well.

Another formal element that calls for study in detail is the prologue. It is an opening speech, not delayed till after a preliminary scene; since the events of the play are simple, there is no tangled skein of intrigue to unravel, and the chief attention is directed to the psychology of the characters, so that we recognize them at once, and build up an anticipatory picture. There is no need for the speaker to prophesy what is to happen. Since he is a God, Pan, he could, of course, do so. Miss Photiades has emphasized his divinity in her article, and claims that his intervention is to be taken in earnest: Pan is punishing Cnemon for neglect of his cult, and his role is as active as that of Aphrodite in Euripides's *Hippolytus*. This interpretation misreads the play. No precise instance of neglect of cult can be laid at Cnemon's door: his offence lies in his disposition, his *τρόπος*,

offensive equally to gods and men. The reason why the old woman deserts him at the last, and one of the charges brought by the slaves, is that he won't *join* his fellow-men in sacrifice, a sacrifice that is followed by a party. Pan does not instance any failure in Cnemon's attitude to himself that is not equally a failure towards the rest of mankind. Pan helps in the discomfiture of the Old Curmudgeon : but his fate is hardly a divine punishment.

In an anecdote told by Plutarch, *De Gloria Ath.* 4, Menander is made to reply to a friend who asked why he hadn't written his new play when the date for production was not far off : " I *have* finished it. The management of the plot is done. All that remains is to write the lines." Professor Martin quoting this anecdote has rightly called attention to the poet's distinction between management and *words*. The excellency of its management, its *economy* (οἰκονομία) is the overmastering impression given by a reading of the *Dyskolos*. " Management " means more than plot construction. The plot of the play could be described simply as " how the hero persuaded the father of the girl he loved to let him marry her by rescuing him from a well ". " Management " implies the combination of character and incident to provide dramatic impetus that makes the action move forward. It is possible to isolate some elements of technique. One is variety : the action is spread over two or more simultaneous fields (the party engaged in sacrifice in front of the Nymphaeum, Sostratus quietly digging). We thus enjoy the different reactions of the participants to what is going on, and these reactions themselves set the next stage in motion. Another element is careful preparation : the audience's ideas and emotions are played on in advance. In the third line of the prologue, the Nymphaeum of Phyle is described as " a shrine of note ". This is not merely an interesting fact, it is preparation for the presence of the whole of Sostratus's family at sacrifice in this out of the way spot. An admirable crescendo leads to the first entry of the Old Curmudgeon ; an even better one is found in the role played by the well. Instead of Cnemon's fall into it being a *deus ex machina* to bring the story to a happy end, it seems the most natural thing in the world. Another element

(and this is against the anecdote) is the language itself : not only is it simple yet elegant,¹ it is always dramatically pointed, dramatically rhetorical. No restoration here or elsewhere in Menander that fails to meet these criteria can be acceptable.

Another feature of the plot will already have presented itself forcibly, because of its contrast with other known plays : not only is its construction simple, it is almost aggressively moral. Here are no complicated situations of recognition, no long lost children born in dubious circumstances, no rapes presented as if they were every-day occurrences. The play need cause no lifting of eyebrows in a girls' school. Its treatment, moreover, illustrates admirably the restrictive effect of social conditions on the choice of topics for the stage. The heroine of this moral story is not even given a name—she is simply “ the girl ”—and she has no personality. She is the beauty, X ; she could be the most vacuous of film stars and the play would not suffer. In contrast, therefore, to many plays, there are no improbable intrigues in regard to which we are asked to suspend disbelief. There is this much of improbability even in this plot, that we must believe a fastidious town-bred youth would be ready to accept as wife an entirely uneducated country girl. Of course in a society where the wives and daughters of citizens are closely chaperoned, and the only young ladies whom men can meet easily must belong to the demi-monde, one can hardly expect a young girl to make a satisfactory stage heroine.

If the play has a moral lesson, it lies in its preaching to the rich, the idle, the townspeople not to trample on the rights and feelings of the poor, hardworking country folk. It is done directly by exhortation in the mouth of Gorgias ; still better is it suggested by the assumption of workman's togs by Sostratus in order to win his bride. Old Cnemon himself (not a poor man at all, for his property is worth two talents at least) has a bias in favour of the peasant proprietor, the *αὐτοφυγός* ; and even Callipides is represented by his son as an ideal farmer.

Perhaps social strains lie behind this. The feeling of class

¹ This is true in spite of the mannerism by which connecting particles (especially *δέ* and *γάρ*) are postponed in sentence openings.

division perhaps reflects the loss of citizenship in 321 B.C. by some nine thousand thetes¹ many of whom might well be farmers. Now the extract from the Didascalia quoted in the argument to the play gives the date of production as the archonship of Didymogenes—an archon who does not exist. It is suggested that Didymogenes is a mistake for Demogenes, who was archon in 317/16, at a time when Menander was in his twenty-sixth year. The correction fails to carry absolute conviction, since Didymogenes is a known name, and the archon list contemporary with Menander's later years has not been irreproachably reconstituted. 317 B.C., however is the year which saw Demetrius of Phalerum installed as governor of Athens, and certain passages would gain in force if interpreted as hits against his government.² If the date is right, one will be tempted to look for characteristics of Menander's early work in the play. Possibly the relative simplicity of construction, the prominence of fooling should be considered such.

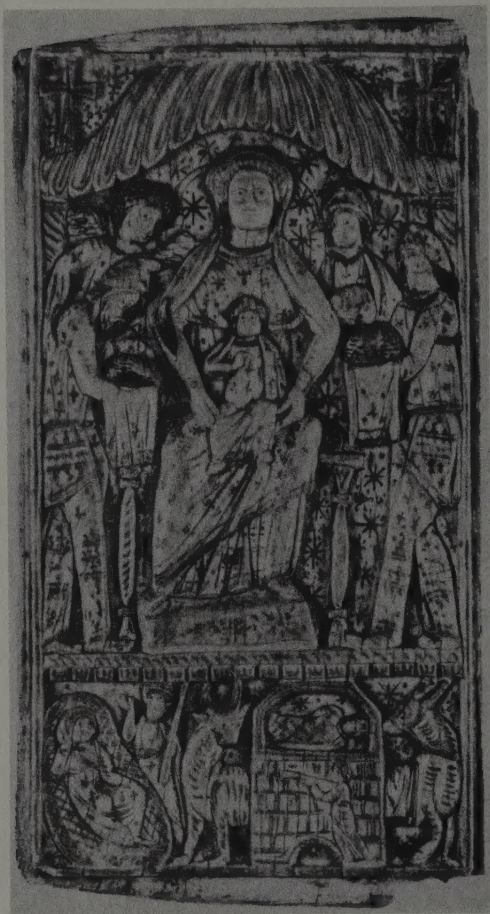
But there is no obvious sign of immaturity in the play.³ It has the exuberance of interest found in all works of artistic creation. Yet no doubt its author's chief aim was to portray an irritable, quarrelsome, tiresome old man—τὸν ἐργώδη γέροντα, as he is characterized in the Epilogue. The effect of his unsociability on others is an integral part of that portrayal, so that in a sense the play is a study of social interdependence. At the base of Cnemon's twisted character lies an honourable if mistaken view of politics and morals. Men, it seemed to him, were so

¹ See Plutarch Phocion 28.7, Diodorus 18,18.5. The number of citizens was reduced to 9000. Either 12,000 (Plutarch) or 21,000 (Diodorus) were disfranchised (see on these figures, A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy* p. 76 and 149 n. 3).

² So L. A. Post regards l. 755 οὐ τρυφῶν οὐδ' οἶος ἀργὸς περιπατεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν as a smack at the Peripatos and at Demetrius, and l. 836-7 οὐκ ἔχων βούλει δοκεῖν [ἔχειν] as a reflection on his sumptuary legislation. A. Momigliano suggests that Menander's choice of theme and treatment in this moral play were officially inspired by Demetrius's policy of morality.

³ *Dyskolos* has neither the quantity (186 out of 341 verses in *Samia*, on Körte's count) nor the awkwardness of the monologues in the *Samia*. Was E. Diehl after all right in suggesting that the *Samia* preserves the Ὀργή? cf. *Samia* 168, 197. Four Menandrian comedies have double titles. Ὀργή ἢ Σαμία would be thinkable.

little admirable in their dealings with each other that self-sufficiency became an ideal. It is a moving revelation that excites our sympathy, and was no doubt intended to do so: it is due to Menander's wit that it was not also sentimentalized.



Central panel from one leaf of an ivory book-cover.
6th cent. In the John Rylands Library.